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BY

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc. (Lond.)

KEEPER OF INDIAN AND MUHAMMADAN ART

IN THE MUSEUM

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CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS
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PART IV

JAINA PAINTINGS AND MANUSCRIPTS

INTRODUCTION

JAINISM [1]

From correspondences in Jain and Buddhist tradition it is practically certain that Mahāvīra, otherwise called Vardhamāna (Jñātiputra) is identical with the Niganṭha Nātaputta who is referred to in Buddhist texts as the leader of a rival sect in the time of the Buddha himself. Thus the founder of Jainism, like the Buddha, taught in the sixth century B.C.

What he taught, and the manner of his teaching, also closely paralleled the doctrine and ministry of Buddha. Jainism is essentially an ethical philosophy intended for ascetics, the Niganṭhas, "Freed of all Bonds," who leave the world to dedicate their whole lives to the search for truth, and its proclamation. They practised a more severely ascetic rule than that of the Buddhists. As in Buddhism, however, there was also recognized a laity, who without renouncing the world, still adhered to the Jain doctrines, and supported the Jain mendicants. The members of the lay community, if they could not reach the highest goal, could still walk on the path towards it.

The Jaina teaching, like the Buddhist, takes for granted the Brāhmaṇ doctrines of *Karma* (Deeds, causality) and *Saṁsāra* (The Ocean of Life and Death). Its highest goal is *Nirvāṇa* or *Mokṣa*, the setting free of the individual from the *Saṁsāra*. The means to this end are the three Jewels of Right Knowledge, Right Faith, and Right Walk. Just what the Buddha is to the Buddhists — originally a man like other men, who nevertheless by his own power has attained omniscience and freedom, and out of pity for suffering mankind teaches to them the way of salvation which he has found — that is the Jina to the Jains. The Jina, the Conqueror, is variously known as Kevalin (Omniscient), Buddha (Enlightened), Mukta (Delivered), Siddha (Perfected), Arhat (Adept), and Tīrthakara, "the Finder of the Ford" by which to cross the Ocean of Rebirth. The last title alone is peculiar to the Jains, all the others belonging to the com-

[1] See especially, Nahar, P. C. and Ghosh, K., *Epitome of Jainism*, Calcutta, 1917.

mon usage of Brāhmans and Buddhists as well as Jains. Though retaining one and the same body of doctrine, the Jain community as a whole was early divided into two parts, the Digambaras, "Clothed with the sky," whose ascetics wear no clothing whatever, and the Śvetambaras, who are "Clothed in white," and who alone possess an order of nuns.

The cardinal doctrines of Jainism may be enunciated as follows: Human personality is dual, spiritual and physical; man has free will, and is himself alone responsible for all that is good or bad in his life; the human soul may control and be freed from its physical entanglement, becoming an Arhat in the world, and a Siddha in *Nirvāṇa*, enjoying then its true form of being and possessed of the four infinite powers; and those Siddhas "who have revealed the broad fording-place of virtue" are called Tīrthakaras (Finders of the Ford). But just as in Buddhism, the Jina, who is at first a mere man, is subsequently deified and becomes the object of a devotional cult.[1]

It will be seen that this system differs from that of Upaniṣads in its dualism, and from Buddhism in its acceptance of the idea of the soul. It resembles the Sāṁkhya in its dualism, and Buddhism, both in its establishment of a monastic order, and in its attitude towards the lesser gods, with a rejection of the idea of a Supreme Creator. Like all other Indian religions, it has for its end the spiritual freedom and perfection of every individual.

While the Buddhist community no longer exists in India, except in Nepal and Ceylon, but is represented throughout Eastern Asia, the Jains have survived in India to the present day, but have not established adherents abroad. The Jains are to be met with in nearly every large Indian town, chiefly amongst the merchants. They have been politically, and are still economically powerful. To them the architectural splendor of many of the cities of Western India is largely due, as likewise, that of the great temple cities of Śatruñjaya and Girnār, and the beautiful temples at Mount Ābū. They now occupy an important position chiefly in Gūjarāt, Rājputāna and the Pañjāb, and also in Kanara.

[1] It was, I think, first pointed out by Jacobi (*Gaina Sutras*, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. xxi) that the impulse to image worship equally amongst Buddhists and Jainas must have originated in the lay community and results from the experience and doctrine of Bhakti, or devotion.

Life of Mahāvīra and other Jinas [1]

At the close of his allotted period of existence in heaven, where he had dwelt for twenty ages subsequent to his last incarnation, Mahāvīra, the last of the Tīrthakaras, took conception in the womb of Devānandā, the wife of the Brāhmaṇa Ṛṣabhadatta, in the town of Kuṇḍāgrāma (probably a suburb of Vaiśālī, capital of Videha or Mithilā, the modern Tirhut).

That night the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā lay in fitful slumber, between sleeping and waking, and she dreamed fourteen auspicious and blessed dreams, to wit: of an elephant, a bull, a lion, the lustration (of Lakṣmī), a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus pool, an ocean, a celestial mansion, a heap of jewels, and a flame. She awoke from these dreams happy and contented; and having firmly fixed the dreams in her mind, she arose from her couch. Neither hasty nor trembling, but with the even gait of a royal swan, she sought the Brāhmaṇa Ṛṣabhadatta and greeted him. Then she sat down in a rich state chair; calm and composed, with folded hands, she related to him the dreams. He saw that they foretold a son, beautiful and perfect and clever, who would become acquainted with all branches of scripture, grammar, and science. She accepted the interpretation, and he and she rejoiced together.

Meanwhile Śakra (Indra), wielder of the thunderbolt, rider of Airāvata, wearing robes as spotless as the pure sky, and trembling earrings of bright gold, sat on his throne in the council hall Sudharman in heaven. He who is ruler of heaven and all the gods of heaven and earth was then enjoying the divine pleasures, such as music and playing and story-telling. He likewise surveyed the whole land of Jambudvīpa (India) with his all-embracing gaze, and he saw that Mahāvīra was conceived in the womb of Devānandā. Trembling with delight, he arose from his throne, and descending from the jewelled footstool, he cast his seamless robe over his left shoulder and advanced in the direction of the Holy One. Then he knelt and touched the ground with his head thrice, and joining the palms of his hands, raised them above his head and said: 'Reverence to the Saints and Blessed Ones, the Masters, the Path-makers [Arhats, Bhaga-

[1] Condensed from the *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Ācāraṅga Sūtra*, translated by Jacobi, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII.

vats, Ādikaras, and Tīrthakaras], the Perfectly Enlightened Ones; to the highest of men, the lions among men, the lotus-flowers of humanity; to the highest in the world, the guides of the world, the lights of the world; the givers of safety, of life, and of knowledge; the givers and preachers of law; the possessors of boundless wisdom and intuition; the conquerors and the saviours; those who have reached a stainless and undying bliss whence there is no return, those who have conquered fear. Reverence to the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra, last of the Tīrthakaras, whom the former Tīrthakaras foretold. I here adore the revered one whom I see; may he from there see me.' So saying, Śakra bowed again and returned to his throne.

It immediately occurred to him that it never had happened nor ever could happen that any Arhat, Cakravartin, or Vāsudeva had taken birth in a low or degraded or in any Brāhmaṇa family, but only in noble families of pure descent. 'This is the first time that an Arhat has taken conception in an unworthy family;[1] however, it has not yet happened that one has ever been born in such a family. I shall therefore cause the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra to be removed from the Brāhmaṇical quarter Kuṇḍagrāma, and from the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā, and to be placed as an embryo in the womb of the Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā, wife of the Kṣatriya Siddhārtha; and the embryo of the Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā to be placed in the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā.' Thus reflecting, he called Hariṇegameṣi,[2] the commander of his infantry; and he instructed him as aforesaid, to exchange the embryos, and to return and report the execution of the command.

Hariṇegameṣi bowed and departed, saying: "Just as your Majesty orders." He descended from heaven toward the northeastern quarter of the world, and assumed a material form; and so he passed with the high swift movement of a god, over continents and oceans, till he reached the town of Kuṇḍagrāma and the house of the Brāhmaṇa Ṛṣabhadatta. There he bowed eight times to Mahāvīra, and cast the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā into

[1] That is to say, so regarded by the Jains, whose philosophy and membership, like that of the Buddhists, was primarily of Ksatriya origin.

[2] For the relation of this peculiar deity with the Brāhmaṇical Nejameṣa and Naigameṣa see Winternitz, M., in J. R. A. S., 1895, pp. 149 ff.

a deep sleep, and all her retinue; removing all that was unclean, he brought forth what was clean, and placed the embryo of the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra in the womb of the Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā, and the embryo of the Kṣatriyāṇī in the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā. And having so done, he returned whence he came. With the high swift movement of a god he passed over oceans and continents and reached the heavens and the throne of Śakra, and reported the fulfillment of the command. This befell on the eighty-third day after conception, in the middle of the night.

On that night the Kṣatriyāṇī lay on her couch, twixt sleeping and waking, in her bower, whereof the walls were decorated with pictures, and the ceiling painted; the chamber was fragrant with the scent of flowers and perfumes, and the couch was covered with a mattress of a man's length, with pillows at head and foot, raised on both sides and hollow in the middle, covered with a cloth of figured linen, hung with red mosquito nets, and furnished with all the comforts of a bed, such as flowers and sandal powder. Then there came to her the fourteen auspicious and delightful dreams that the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā had formerly dreamed, to wit: a great lucky elephant, marked with auspicious signs, and four-tusked; a lucky bull, whiter than the petals of the white lotus, sleek and well-proportioned, foreboding innumerable happy qualities; a playful beautiful lion, whiter than a heap of pearls — his tail waved, and his beautiful tongue came out of his mouth like a shoot of beauty; Śrī, the goddess of beauty, seated on a lotus, laved by attendant elephants; a garland of *mandara* flowers hanging down from the firmament, incomparably fragrant, and haunted by swarms of bees; the moon, white as the milk of cows, or as a silver cup; the great red sun, whose thousand rays obscure the lustre of all other lights; a green flag, fastened to a golden staff, with a tuft of soft and waving peacock feathers; a full vase of gold, filled with water-lilies; a lake of lotuses, resorted to by swans and cranes and ducks, pleasing to heart and eye; the ocean of milk, beauteous as Lakṣmī's breast — a splendid and a pleasant spectacle as its waters tossed in moving, ever-changing, excessively high waves, traversed by porpoises and whales; a heavenly mansion of a thousand and eight columns, decked with gold and gems, hung with pearl garlands and decorated with various pictures, filled with music like the sound of heavy rain, perfumed delightfully and full of light; a heap of

splendid jewels, high as Meru, illumining the very firmament; and a smokeless, crackling fire, flaming high as if to scorch the very heavens.

From these auspicious, happy dreams the Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā awoke, and all the hair on her body rose up in joy. She rose from her couch, and neither hasty nor trembling, but with the gait of a royal swan, she sought the couch of the Kṣatriya Siddhārtha, and spoke to him with pleasant, gentle words, and with his leave she sat on a chair of state, inlaid with precious stones in various patterns. She related the fourteen dreams, and asked her lord what they might portend. He foretold that she would give birth to a son, who would establish the fame of their family: a beautiful boy who should be acquainted with all branches of scripture, grammar, and science, and become a lord of the earth. Then the Kṣatriya and Kṣatriyāṇī rejoiced together; and Triśalā returned to her own couch, and waked till morning, lest these good dreams should be counteracted by any bad dreams following.

At daybreak, Siddhārtha called for his servants, and ordered them to prepare the hall of audience. He himself went to the royal gymnasium and practised exercises, such as jumping, wrestling, fencing, and fighting, till he was wearied. Then he was well shampooed; and when he was refreshed, he entered the bath-room. That was an agreeable chamber; it had many a window, and the floor was covered with mosaic of precious stones. He seated himself on the bathing stool, inlaid with gems, and bathed himself with pure scented water. Then he dried himself with a soft towel, and donned a new and costly robe, with jewels, rings, and strings of pearls. He seemed like a tree granting all desires. A royal umbrella was held above him, as he proceeded from his bath and took his seat in the hall of audience, surrounded by chiefs and vassals, ministers, merchants and masters of guilds, knights and frontier-guards — a very bull and lion amongst men. On the one side of the throne he had set eight chairs of state; and on the other a curtain, figured with various pictures, was drawn toward the inner rooms of the palace; and behind this curtain was placed a jewelled chair of state for the Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā.

Then Siddhārtha sent for the interpreters of dreams; and they, bathing and donning clean court robes, came from their houses and entered Siddhārtha's palace, and saluting him with folded hands they took their seats on

the chairs of state. Meanwhile Triśalā took her seat behind the curtain. Siddhārtha recounted the dreams to the interpreters, and they, after consideration and discussion, replied to him: "O beloved of the gods, there are thirty Great Dreams enumerated in our books, and of these, those who dream fourteen dreams are the mothers either of Universal Emperors or of Arhats; and hence the Kṣatriyāṇī, having seen fourteen, will be the mother either of a Cakravartin or of a Jina."

The king Siddhārtha gladly accepted this interpretation and dismissed the interpreters with gifts; and the lady Triśalā returned to her own apartments, neither hasty nor trembling, but with the even gait of a royal swan, glad and happy.

Now from the moment when the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra was brought into Siddhārtha's family, their wealth and their liberality and popularity increased daily; and on this account it was decided to name the child Vardhamāna, the Increaser.

While still in the womb, the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra made the resolution not to pluck out his hair and leave the world during the lifetime of his parents.

During the remaining time of her pregnancy, the Kṣatriyāṇi Triśalā guarded herself from all sickness, fear, and fatigue, by suitable food and clothing and pleasant diversions and occupation, frequently resting on soft couches, and thus bearing the child in comfort. And after the lapse of nine months and seven and a half days, in the middle of the night, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphālguni, Triśalā, perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy boy.

That night was an occasion of great rejoicing; the universe was resplendent with one light, as the gods and goddesses descended and ascended, and great was the noise and confusion of the assembly of gods. These gods — the Bhavanapati, Vyantara, Jyotiśka and Vaimānika — appeared to celebrate the feast of anointment (*abhiṣekha*) of the Tīrthakara's birthday. Siddhārtha proclaimed a ten days' festival in his city, with remission of taxes, almsgiving, and so forth. On the twelfth day there took place a royal banquet, and it was announced that the boy's name would be Vardhamāna.

Besides this he is called Śramana, or Ascetic, because he is without love

and without hate; and because he stands fast in the midst of dangers and fears, and patiently bears hardships and calamities, and is indifferent to pleasure and pain; obedient to a chosen discipline, he is called Mahāvīra, the Great Hero, by the gods.

Mahāvīra dwelt in Videha thirty years, before his parents departed to the world of the gods; and then only, with the permission of his elder brother and the great men of the kingdom, he fulfilled his vow. The Laukāntika gods appeared to him, saying: "Victory to thee, O bull of the best Kṣatriyas! Awake, reverend Lord of the World! Establish the religion of the law which benefits all living beings in the whole universe!"

Mahāvīra had already perceived that the time for his Renunciation (*niṣkramaṇa*) had come. He made a suitable distribution of all his wealth. This distribution of gifts occupied a whole year, at the end of which time, the four orders of gods, descending from heaven, proceeded to the abode of Mahāvīra. As they arrived in the Kṣatriya quarter of Videha, Śakra (Indra) descended from his chariot, and went apart; and he created by magic a divine pedestal (*deva-chaṁda*) with a throne and footstool. Then proceeding to the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra, Śakra circumambulated him thrice from left to right, and placing him upon the throne, bathed him with pure water and precious oils, and robed him in the lightest of figured muslins, and garlands of pearls and precious gems. Then the god again created by magic a splendid palanquin called *candraprabhā* (moon-radiance), adorned with pictures and bells and flags, and provided with a throne; it was conspicuous, magnificent, and beautiful.

After completing a three days' fast, the ascetic Mahāvīra ascended the throne and took his seat in the palanquin; in front it was borne by men, and by the gods behind — the Suras and Asuras, Garuḍas and Nāgas. Its movement was accompanied by the sound of musical instruments in the sky and upon the earth: and thus it proceeded from the Kṣatriya quarter of Kuṇḍapura along the highway toward the park called Jñātri Ṣaṇḍa. Just at nightfall the palanquin came to rest upon a little hillock beside an Aśoka tree; Mahāvīra descended, and took his seat beneath the tree, with his face toward the East. He removed his ornaments and fine clothes; and tearing out his hair in five handfuls, he obtained *dīkṣā*, entering upon the homeless life of a friar, adopting the holy rule, and vowing

to commit no sin. At the same time he donned a divine garment, which he accepted from Śakra (Vaiśramaṇa, according to the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*) who received the rejected ornaments and fine clothes and removed them to the Ocean of Milk.[1] At the moment of Mahāvīra's obtaining *dīkṣā*, the whole universe of men and gods became suddenly perfectly silent and motionless, like the figures in a picture.

Mahāvīra obtained the degree of knowledge called Manaḥparyāna; and he resolved to neglect the care of his body for twelve years, bearing with equanimity all pleasures and pains, whether arising from divine powers, from men or from animals. The twelve years duly passed in blameless wandering, the practice of religious discipline, and the patient endurance of pain and pleasure. It was in the thirteenth year that Mahāvīra, seated in deep meditation beside a sal tree, near the town Gṛmbhikagrāma, attained to Nirvāṇa, and the unobstructed, infinite and supreme knowledge and intuition of a Kevalin (*syn.* Jina, Arhat). Then he became aware of all states of gods or men or demons, whence they came and whither they go, their thoughts and deeds; he saw and knew all circumstances and conditions of the whole universe of living things.

When the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra had thus reached the highest intuition and knowledge, the time had come for him to teach the doctrine of the Jinas. To this end the gods prepared for him a *samavasaraṇa* or preaching hall, and entering this by the eastern gate, he took his seat upon the throne, and taught the Divine Law to gods and men.

During a period of nearly thirty years following, Mahāvīra wandered to and fro, spending the rainy season in different cities, founding a great community of monks and lay votaries, and teaching the five great vows, the doctrine of the six classes of living beings, and so forth. At the end of that time, in the town of Pāpā, the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra died, cutting asunder the ties of birth, old age and death, becoming a Siddha, a Buddha, a Mukta, one who is finally released, never more to return,

[1] Thus, according to the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* and the pictures. Another MS. states that the ornaments, etc., were received by Vaiśramaṇa (who is never represented in the pictures). The *Kalpa Sūtra*, though it mentions the divine robe, and thus implies the presence of a divine donor, distinctly states that Mahāvīra was quite alone when he obtained *dīkṣā*; this must be understood to mean that no other human being was present. See also the descriptions of the pictures, and the discussion by Hüttemann, loc. cit., pp. 68–70.

entering the paradise of perfected souls (Īṣatpragbhārā), above the world and beyond the heavens of the gods. The *Kalpa Sūtra* further states that Mahāvīra had nine Gaṇas and eleven Gaṇadharas, that is, nine companies or orders of monks, established by eleven teachers, his disciples.

Much briefer lives of the Jinas Pārśva (who is very possibly a real personage), Nemi and Ṛṣabha follow. They are similar in most respects to the life of Mahāvīra with only a difference in the names of persons and places. We give here certain episodes peculiar to Pārśva. The name Pārśva is in some way connected with a black serpent seen by his mother before his birth. His cognizance is a serpent. Later in life he is guarded by the serpent king Dharaṇendra who enters into the story in connection with Kaṭha. The *Pārśvanātha Caritra* relates the story of nine prebirths of Pārśvanātha and Kaṭha (originally the brothers, Marubhūti and Kamaṭha), in each of which the former is slain by the latter, but dies forgivingly. When Marubhūti is reborn as Pārśva, Kamaṭha is reborn (1) as Kaṭha or Kamaṭha, who becomes an ascetic and (2) as the Asura Meghamālin. The rest of the story follows:

"One day Pārśva sees Kaṭha surrounded by a great concourse of people, performing the severe five-fire-penance (*pañcāgnitapas*). And he sees that Kaṭha has thrown a great serpent into a fire-pan which stands upon the fagots of the fire. He asks the reason for this pitiless practice, inconsistent with Kaṭha's own austerities. Kaṭha replies that kings might understand elefants and horses, but that sages alone understood religion. Pārśva has the fire put out; the agonized serpent is reborn as Dharaṇa, the wealthy king of the Nāgas in Pātāla, the subterranean home of the serpents. Kaṭha, as the result of his false practice, is reborn as an Asura by name of Meghamālin.

"Pārśva, happening to see on the wall of his palace a picture of the Arhat, Nemi, who had taken the vow early in life, decides to do the same, and to undertake the enlightenment of the world. Preparatory to his consecration he distributes vast alms. To the songs and music of the people he goes to a hermitage where the very trees and plants rejoice over his presence. At the foot of an açoka-tree he renounces power and wealth, plucks out his hair, and, at the age of thirty, obtains the knowledge due to mental perfection. He wanders from place to place, instructing, and

acclaimed as a Saint. While standing in the forest of Kāuçāmbī in the *kāyotsarga* [1] posture, the serpent-king Dharaṇa comes in great state to do him honor, performs a mimic representation, and during three days holds an umbrella over his head to protect him from the sun. He wanders again, to many places, to find out where dwells the enemy Illusion. The Asura Meghamālin (the soul of Kamaṭha) attacks the Lord Pārśva with tigers, elefants, and scorpions, but, when he shows no fear, they slink off, as tho ashamed. Meghamālin then tries to submerge him in the waters produced by a fearful thunderstorm; even then the Lord does not budge from his place and his pious meditations. Dharaṇa, finding out by superior insight that Kamaṭha is attacking the Lord, fashions by means of his serpent hoods an umbrella over his head: the Lord stands there like a royal haṅsa bird, submerged in a deep trance, retaining his equanimity in the face of both Kamaṭha's attacks and Dharaṇa's devotion. Dharaṇa then excoriates Meghamālin's hatred of the Lord, pointing out that he had done him no injury, but on the contrary, had saved him from the sin of burning up Dharaṇa on the occasion of his uncanny practice. Meghamālin then repents, resorts to the Lord, and goes home, determined to devote himself to piety. Thus ends the drama of the persecution of the soul of Marubhūti by the soul of Kamaṭha, carried on through ten existences." [2]

The following account of the birth of Neminātha, the son of king Samudravijaya and Queen Śivā, is given in Ch. X of the *Satruñjaya Māhātmayam* (Weber, A., trans. by Burgess, J. in Indian Antiquary, XXX, 298, 1901): "At Sauripura, Śivâ the wife of Samudravijaya, dreamt at dawn the fourteen great dreams, and at the very time, the 12th of Kârtika-vadya, Chitrânakshatra, a great sage descended from a chariot of the Aparâjita gods and entered her womb. Then at midnight of the 5th of Srâvaṇa-

[1] *Kāyotsarga:* "The posture of one who stands upright, or sits, with his two arms hanging down, and without any regard for his body, is called Kāyotsarga (abandonment of the body)." Hemacandra, Yogaśastra IV, 132. 'The ascetic stands unmoveable, his arms held stiffly downward, his knees pressed together, his feet four fingers' length apart, his toes stretched forward.' Bhandarkar, R. G., *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1887–91, p. 98, note. By this penance are cleared away past and present sins that require expiation. The *Kalpa Sūtra* mentions this penance only in connection with Pārśva: but our pictures represent Mahāvīra also in this posture.

[2] Bloomfield, M., *Life and stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha*, Introduction, Baltimore, 1919.

suddha, Chitrânakṣatra, she gave birth to a child of dark color with the mark of a conch; then on the top of Meru the fifty-six Dikkumâris and sixty-four Indras celebrated the birth of the Jina, Samudravijaya also celebrated the event and gave his child the name of Arishtanemi (the 22d Jina). He was nursed by a crowd of Apsarâs and waited on by gods who had assumed his age at Indra's command. After this Samudravijaya went into the garden to amuse himself, when Indra seeing the Svâmi in the lap of his mother joyfully saluted him and said to the gods that Samudravijaya, in whose house the Svâmi Nemi Tîrthaṅkara had appeared as a son, was indeed meritorious and happy, praising the lord exceedingly for his bravery. Some of the gods present answered Indra that his praise of the boy before them was unseemly for they had once dried up the whole ocean and had pulverized great mountains with ease; and desiring to see the strength of the Jina, they had come to the garden consecrated by him. There they saw the boy caressed by people, some saying "live long," some kissing him, some holding his fingers, some making him laugh by nodding their heads, etc. When, afterwards, they found the Jina in his cradle resting alone, they carried him off by stealth up into the sky. When they had gone some thousand *kos* up, the lord in meditation, knew what they were about, and to convince them of his powers, sunk them several thousand *kos* below the ground. Seeing their plight Indra pitied them, and coming to Nemi requested him to deliver them, as they had committed this fault through ignorance; and, after liberating them and putting the lord in his cradle, Indra returned to Svarga. Samudravijaya and others witnessing the power of Nemi, were highly pleased and returned home, celebrating a festival befitting the occasion in the Arhant temple. Henceforward the lord grew up protected by the gods under orders of Indra." At Dvārakā the lord Ariṣṭanemi gradually grew into a young man.

Indra now describes the peculiar virtues of Nemi to the gods. The latter unbelieving, assumed human form and waged war upon Dvārakā; Balarāma and Kṛishṇa were defeated and made prisoner. "Then Kṛishṇa's wives went to their brother-in-law, Nemi, and said humbly that he, being a Jina, a Tîrthaṅkara, was of unlimited power, and that though his brothers had been carried off he was unmoved and his valour would be

of no account unless it were shown now. Nemi considered for a while and then came out to the assembly, when Samudravijaya who was about to proceed against his enemies was brought back by Kroshṭuki, who told him his efforts would be fruitless as these enemies could be defeated only by a Tîrthaṅkara. In the meantime Mâtula the charioteer of Indra had brought a chariot by his master's orders and told Nemi to mount. He did so with the weapons of war and completely defeated the gods. Indra came down and praised him greatly, requesting that he would pardon the gods for their folly. The gods bowed when they saw Indra and prostrated themselves to the Tîrthaṅkara, who, pardoning them, went to Suradhârâpura and released Anâdhṛishṇi, Balarâma and Kṛishṇa. Indra requested the lord to take them to holy places — Śatruñjaya and others for their benefit. The lord, sitting in the *vimâna* of Indra, went with them to Śatruñjaya, told them its history, and thence came to Girnâra and then to Dvârakâ. Leaving Nemi and his brothers there, Indra and the others went to their respective abodes."

The following account of the episode of Kṛṣṇa's conch was obtained by J. Burgess from a Jain priest (Indian Antiquary, II, 1874, p. 138): "His cousin Kṛishṇa was also of superhuman strength, and was able to blow a large conch from which it was believed no other person could produce a blast. One day Neminâtha saw it lying on the ground, and asking why that toy was lying there, he took it up and blew such a blast upon it as quite alarmed Kṛishṇa who began to enquire who it was that could blow upon his *śaṅkha*. On finding it was his cousin, he became jealous of him as a rival, and accordingly directed his hundred *gopîs* to excite amorous thoughts in Neminâtha and shame him into marriage, thinking intercourse with women the only way to put down his strength. The *gopîs* began to tease him and tell him as he was grown up to manhood he ought to marry. At first he refused, but after a deal of reviling and reproaching he consented, and Kṛishṇa selected for him Râjîmatî the daughter of Ugrasena of Girnâr — whose palace is still shewn, being a ruin near the Junâgaḍh fort beside the Bhumriyo kuo. When the wedding day came and Neminâtha approached Junâgaḍh, he saw a flock of sheep and herds of cattle collected to be sacrificed for the people that had assembled to celebrate the wedding: the sheep were bleating piteously, and, struck

with pity for them and the vanity of human happiness, and to save the lives of so many animals, he resolved to become an ascetic, gave up the world, and retired into the Girnâr hills, followed by his intended bride, and there they both led a platonic life." A similar account is given in the *Satruñjaya Māhātmayam* Ch. XIII, where it is stated that the conch Pañcajanya had been bestowed upon Kṛṣṇa by the god of the sea.

Summary of the Story of Kālakācārya[1]

I. Birth. II. The Dethronement of Gardabhilla

There was a town in Bhāratvarṣa, named Dharāvāsa. The king of that town hight Vajrasiṁha, and his chief queen was the peerless Surasundarī; they had a son expert in every science, named Kālakakumāra. One day he was returning from a drive, and saw a Jain priest preaching in the mango park. He approached the monk, bowed, and listened; and was converted and joined the order, to his father's great grief, together with a a numerous company of princes. When he had completed his religious studies, his teacher established him as head of the order in his own stead. With five hundred monks he proceeded to Ujjayinī, and there remained for some days, preaching. Meanwhile there also arrived a party of pious nuns, amongst whom was the beautiful and devout Sarasvatī, Kālakācārya's younger sister.[2]

Gardabhilla, king of Ujjayinī, passed that way, and seeing Sarasvatī, desired her, and carried her off against her will, calling out to her brother for help. Kālakācārya remonstrated with the king, saying that if he set a bad example, law and order would be destroyed, and so forth; but in vain. The infatuated king was not to be dissuaded. For a blind man does not see what is visibly before him; but one blinded by passion sees what does not exist — lotus blossoms, the moon's disk, and a whole catalogue of beauties, where in sooth exists naught but unclean flesh.

Kālakācārya summoned the fourfold Synod; but that also in vain, and Kālakācārya made a vow, either to drive the king out of his kingdom, or himself to go the way of those who are the enemies of the faith and destroy piety. So saying, the Wise One reflected that he must have recourse to cunning, since the king was brave and powerful, and expert in ass-magic (*gaddhabhīe mahāvijjāe*). He dressed himself as a madman, and frequented cross roads and market places, calling out 'If Gardabhilla is king, what of that? If his zenana is fair, what of that? If I go begging, what of that? Or if I sleep in a deserted house, what of that?' When the townsfolk heard

[1] Based on the translation of H. Jacobi, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXXIV, 1880, pp. 247 seq.

[2] I. e. Kālaka, formerly Kumāra (prince), now Ācārya (adept).

the Wise One crying out in this way, they said 'Alas, the king must be committing some sin, since Kālakācārya, the refuge of the virtuous, has deserted his Order and wanders in the town a madman; alas! alas!'

When the ministers heard that all the folk of the city blamed the king in this fashion, they said to him, 'Sire, do not so, but set free the nun, since great harm is coming of it; and he who injures the monk, plunges himself into a sea of misfortune.' But the king was wroth, and recommended them to reserve their exhortations for their grandmothers. They were astounded, and murmured, 'Who can restrain the ocean when it overflows its banks?'

Now the Wise One left Ujjayinī and went to the land of the Śaka clan. The princes are there called Shāhis, and their overlord the Shāhan Shāhi. Kālakācārya remained at the court of one of the Shāhis, and brought him under his power by means of mantras and tantras (charms and spells). One day when the Shāhi was talking with the Wise One, the doorkeeper announced the messenger of the Shāhan Shāhi. He was brought in and gave the king a present, a sword sent by his master. Thereat the Shāhi's face darkened like the sky before rain. Then the Wise One reflected: 'I see a strange thing; for when servants receive an honorable gift from their masters, they are wont to be glad like peacocks at the sight of clouds. I will enquire what this may mean.' When the messenger had departed, the Wise One asked the Shāhi why he was thus downcast at receiving a mark of favour from his master. 'Honorable, sir,' he replied, 'that was not a sign of favour, but of anger. When he is wroth with us he sends a sword, and we must slay ourselves therewith, and since he is mighty, his commands must be obeyed.' The Wise One enquired, 'Is he angry only with thee, or with others also?' The Shāhi answered, 'He is angry also with the ninety-five other Shāhis, since the sword bears the number 96.' The Wise One said, 'If so, do not slay thyself.' But the Shāhi replied, 'Then he will destroy our whole race; but if I am dead, he will spare others.' The Wise One said, 'If so, send a messenger to the other princes, to say that we shall set out for Hindustan.' The messenger was sent and the ninety-five Shāhis appeared. Then the first Shāhi asked the Wise One what was to be done next. He replied, 'Cross the Indus with an army and baggage, and go to Hindukadeśa.'

So they did and came to Surāṣṭra. Then it was the rainy season; so they parcelled out the land and remained there while the roads were impassable. Then came Spring with his white lotus flowers, like a king with white umbrellas; when white herons are to be seen like white clouds before the first rains; honoured by flamingoes like a Jina by famous kings; when rivers are clear as good men's thoughts, the heavenly regions bright as the words of a skilful poet, the welkin free from earthy stain as the body of the highest ascetic; when the *saptacchada* trees are decked with flowers as *munis* are decked with virtue; when the nights are gay with stars; when earth shines bright with all her fields of ripe corn, beloved of the proud bellowing bulls and happy herdsmen; when by night the bosom of the earth, as it were, is bathed in a stream of moonray-nectar; when travellers are led astray by the sweet songs of the careful farmers watching the green rice-fields; when the *cakravāka* wakes to the accomplishment of his dreams of love.

When Kālakācārya beheld such prowess of the Spring, he spake to the Shāhis, for the fulfillment of his wishes, saying, 'Ha! why do ye idle here?' They said, 'Tell us what to do.' The Wise One answered, 'Capture Ujjayinī, the bulwark of Mālwā; there shall ye find good living.' They answered, 'With a good will, but we have no resources, for we brought with us nothing more than bare necessities.' So the Wise One with magic powder changed all the potter's stuff to gold, and said, 'Take this for your needs.' They set out accordingly for Ujjayinī.

When Gardabhilla heard of the enemy's approach, he marched forth and met them on the borders of his country and joined battle. He was defeated and his army dispersed like clouds before the wind. He drew back into his city with the remnants of the army. The victors laid siege, and made daily assaults. One day when they were storming the fort, they saw that it was empty; and they asked the Wise One what this might mean. He replied, 'To-day is the eighth, when Gardabhilla fasts and practises his ass-magic; go see if there be a she-ass anywhere upon the walls.' They saw that there was an ass, and showed it to the Wise One. He said, 'When she makes a great outcry, on the accomplishment of Gardabhilla's rites, immediately every creature two- or four-footed, in our army will fall to the ground with blood pouring from his mouth. Take, therefore, all that

are two- or four-footed and withdraw two miles from the walls; but give me a hundred and eight accomplished bowmen.' So did they.

The Wise One said to the bowmen, 'When the ass opens her mouth to speak, stop her mouth with arrows before she utters a sound; for if she does so, we may shoot never more. Therefore wait in patience with bows drawn to the ear.' So did they. They stopped the ass's mouth with a hail of arrows, so that it could not utter any sound; and the magic beast fell dead outright. The Wise One ordered his men to take the army prisoner; they stormed the walls and entered Ujjayinī. Gardabhilla was captured alive and brought in chains to the Wise One's feet. He said, 'Shameless and vile wretch and evil-doer, soon art thou despoiled of power. So have we done because thou didst shame a nun unwilling, and didst contemn the Synod. He who robs a nun of honour, sets a fire at the root of the welfare of the Jain faith. Long, indeed, shalt thou whirl about in the sea of life and death, suffering many ills and the more so in this life than any other. Scourging, imprisonment and disgrace are the flowers of the tree of resistance to the Synod. Thou dost not merit that we should parley at all with thee; yet out of pity, since we see thee branded with the burden of many sins and surrounded by the flames of the fire of grief, we speak no more. Go thou and do a bitter penance according to thy sins, if by any means thou mayest cross the ocean of distress.' When Gardabhilla of the evil deeds heard the Wise One speak thus, his very soul grew pale, and he departed thence in misery. Dying in his wanderings, he wanders still in the ocean of rebirth.

Then the princes appointed him as Shāhi whom the Wise One chose, and themselves enjoyed dominion as his vassals. Since they were of the Śaka race, they are called Śakas, and thus began the Śaka dynasty. After a time there arose a king of Mālwā hight Vikramāditya, who overthrew the Śakas; gloriously did he reign and rule, and he established his own era. Subsequently another Śaka king displaced that dynasty, and all the vassals bowed before his lotus feet. When a hundred and thirty-five years of the Vikrama era had passed, this Śaka king established an era of his own. Kālakācārya reëstablished his sister in the pure practice of religion, and himself became the teacher of the Śakas.

III. Kālaka in Bharoch with Balamittra. IV. Kālaka in Pratiṣṭhāna with Sātavāhana.

Balamittra and Bhānumittra, nephews of Kālakācārya were king and crown prince of Bhṛgukaccha. Their sister Bhānuśrī had a son Balathānu. The two brothers hearing of their uncle's residence in Ujjayinī sent an ambassador, with whom Kālakācārya returned. In Bhṛgukaccha he preached to his nephews, their sister and her son. The latter was converted, and so too were many nobles and townspeople. The household priest of Balamittra making objections, begging was forbidden. Kālakācārya departed to Pratiṣṭhāna in the Marāṭha country, to the pious king Sātavāhana.

V. Kālaka's disobedient pupils: and his visit to Sāgaracandra

The pupils are disobedient: Kālaka leaves them and visits his pupil's pupil Sagaracandra, arrives after dark, and unrecognized owing to the darkness of the night, engages in disputation with him. The repentant pupils come in search of him.

VI. Kālakācārya and Indra

Once on a time the king of the gods (Śakra or Indra), his shining form decked with long garlands, broad of chest, his arms stiff with splendid bracelets and arm-rings, earrings dancing on his cheeks, crowned with the shining diadem bright with the rays of rare gems, gazed upon the world; and he saw the Jina Sīmandharswāmi in Pūrva Videha, in the assembly of the religions. At once he bowed towards him. While he from his place listened to the Jina's teaching, the latter chose the Nigoda rule as the subject of his discourse. When he had heard all, Indra was astounded, and clutching his splendid locks, with eyes wide opened, he exclaimed, 'Honoured Sir, is there in Bhāratvarṣa (India) in this Dussamā age, any one who can thus exactly expound the Nigoda?' The Jina replied: 'O venerable god, there is in Bharata one Kālaka who understands the Nigoda even as I have expounded it.'

When the Lightning-wielder (Śakra) heard this, he proceeded thither in the shape of an aged Brāhmaṇa, and with respectful greeting asked

the Wise One: 'Honoured Sir, be good enough to expound the Nigoda rule, according to the teaching of the Jina of your day, for I long greatly to hear it.' The sage replied in sweet and clear tones: 'Since thou hast this curiosity, O fortunate one, listen attentively.'

After hearing the exposition, Śakra (Indra), to test the monk's wisdom, enquired, 'If it be allowed, pray tell me how long I should have to live if I refrained from all nourishment, taking into consideration my great age.' When Kālaka reckoned up the days and months and years and centuries he found they came to two aeons, and knew by insight that this must be the Lightning-wielder. When the Wise One said accordingly: 'Thou art Indra.' The Brāhmaṇa resumed his own form, in fine attire and wearing dancing earrings, bending low, touching the earth with brow, hands, and knees, filled with love, he made obeisance to the lotus feet of the Wise One, saying, 'Honour to thee, Lord of Sages, adorned with every virtue, who even in this degraded Dussamā age knowest the doctrine of the Jinas.' Having thus honoured him, the king of gods returned to heaven. At another time the Wise One, when he knew the end of his days was come, practised the asceticism of abstaining from food, and reached the farther shore.

Summary of the Story of Śālibhadra

The story of Śālibhadra is told in a number of versions. The following is a summary of the original Sanskrit text of Dharma Kumāra from a manuscript in the British Museum, kindly communicated by Dr. L. D. Barnett:

"A poor village boy named Saṁgama, son of a widow, when half starved gave to a hungry ascetic milk-rice (*pāyasa*) that his mother had with much difficulty obtained for him. The boy promptly died, and as a reward of his precocious piety and intelligence was reborn as the son of the merchant Gōbhadra and his wife Bhadrā in Rājagṛha, and was named Śālibhadra. He married thirty-two wives of his own caste, and lived in worldly happiness."

The following summary of the story of Śālibhadra is based upon Professor Maurice Bloomfield's digest of Pradyumnasūri's *mahākāvya*,[1] p. 167, and our manuscript:

The saintly youth Saṁgama, son of the poor widow Dhanyā, grows up in the village of Śāligrāma, in Magadha. He becomes a herdsman. One day he asks his mother for a dish of sweet rice-milk. She cannot afford to buy the materials, but her neighbors make her a present of them, and Dhanyā gives the dish of rice-milk to her son. Just then a great ascetic, about to break a month's fast, arrives. Saṁgama, with profound devotion, hands him his dish of rice-milk; and receives the blessing of the ascetic. Ultimately Saṁgama abandons life by fasting.

He is reborn as Śālibhadra, the son of the merchant prince Gobhadra and his wife Bhadrā, in the city of Rājagṛha: his conception is announced in Bhadrā's dream of a field of ripe rice, which suggests Śāligrāma (rice-village). The ruler of Rājagṛha is Śreṇika, whose wise son Abhayakumāra is also his minister. Gobhadra marries his son to thirty-two beautiful women, and proposes to retire from the world. Meanwhile Mahāvīra arrives, and Gobhadra, in spite of the protests of his wife, and son, takes his vows at the Lord's hands. Subsequently he dies by fasting and is re-

[1] *The Śālibhadra Carita, a story of conversion to Jaina monkhood:* by M. Bloomfield, J. A. O. S. XLIII, 4, 1923, pp. 167ff. I am greatly indebted to Professor Bloomfield for an advance proof of this valuable article.

born in the Sāudharma heaven. Thence he descends as a god to visit his son and bestows upon him rare treasures and divine grace and beauty and great prosperity.

Merchants now come from abroad with rare and magnificent shawls which they offer to King Śreṇika, who, however, thinks that he cannot afford to buy them. Śālibhadra's mother then buys the eight shawls, cuts each into four parts and presents them to Śālibhadra's wives, who in turn place them at his feet. Cellaṇā, king Śreṇika's queen, hearing of the shawls, begs him to take the shawls from the merchants by force. He finds that Śālibhadra's mother has secured them, and repenting of his former parsimony, offers to buy them from her. She, however, can do nothing as she has already given away the shawls. The king's messenger reports these matters to the king, who wonders what sort of man this wealthy Śālibhadra must be. The king sends his messenger to invite Śālibhadra to visit him. His mother Bhadrā goes instead and invites the king to visit Śālibhadra; he agrees, and is received in state, and seats himself upon a jewelled throne. The occasion of the king's visit is the means of Śālibhadra's enlightenment (*pratyekabodhi*); for he reflects that even the highest ruler is a mere living creature with hands and feet like himself. The only real king is the man of great virtue. Śālibhadra, with his wives, nevertheless pays his respects to the king, who is delighted.

Bhadrā now prepares a great shampoo for the king. As he is being rinsed, his signet ring falls into the water, and is lost, but when the water is poured away, it is discovered in the jewelled bath, where, however, its glory is dimmed by the splendor of its surroundings. The king is somewhat cast down by this; but recognizes Śālibhadra's superior spiritual powers. He returns to his palace. Śālibhadra's *vairāgya* (disgust of the world) now ripens. He purposes to abandon the household life and to become an ascetic (*sādhu*). Bhadrā endeavors to dissuade him, but the only compromise he will make is to abandon his wives one by one on successive days, thus postponing his final renunciation of the world for thirty-two days.

In the same city lives Śālibhadra's sister, Subhadrā, whose husband is called Dhanya. She tells him in tears that Śālibhadra is daily abandoning his wives. Dhanya remarks that such a gradual process of renunciation is

far from admirable. Dhanya's seven other wives protest against this criticism on Dhanya's part, as he is making no renunciation whatever himself. He exclaims in reply that his wives have become his spiritual guides, for what they have said has suggested to him to wait upon the Lord and to become a homeless ascetic himself.

In the meantime Mahāvīra has taken up his residence on the Vāibhara mountain. Dhanya with his wives resorts to the Lord. Śālibhadra hears of this and reproaches his mother for her resistance. She now realizes that Śālibhadra cannot be dissuaded; accordingly she visits the king in order to borrow the royal insignia for the ordination ceremony (*dīkṣā*). The king himself promises to make the necessary arrangements.

Śālibhadra with his mother and wives, and accompanied by the king, now resorts to Mahāvīra's *samavasaraṇa* palace and receives ordination at his hands. Dhanya and his wife Subhadrā follow him into the homeless life. The king and the sorrowful women return to Rājagṛha.

Śālibhadra and Dhanya enter upon a life of severe asceticism. At the end of twelve years they return to Rājagṛha in the following of Mahāvīra. They are about to break a month's fast; and visit Bhadrā's palace as mendicants, 'emaciated, silent, unmoved.' But Bhadrā, eager to do honor to the returned spiritual heroes, is so deeply moved that she does not recognize them in their changed guise, and so misses the honor of offering to them the food with which they shall break their fast. With perfect equanimity they move on, and receive food from a woman named Mathatahārika, who had in the former birth been Śālibhadra's mother in Śāligrāma.

Śālibhadra and Dhanya now determine to pursue their path to the end; they practise more severe asceticism, and attain to death by starvation. Meanwhile Bhadrā and her daughter-in-law, accompanied by King Śreṇika go out to do honor to the great ascetics. On finding them at the point of death, they are profoundly affected. The king, however, so comforts Bhadrā that she is able to encourage her son in his efforts toward final victory. Śālibhadra and Dhanya are reborn in the Sarvārthasiddha heaven, where they enjoy the highest bliss.

JAINA COSMOLOGY [1]

The Universe is eternal, and has the form of a spindle resting upon an inverted cone. The spindle and cone together are sometimes represented diagrammatically in the form of a woman with arms akimbo.[2] Above the summit of the spindle is the paradise of the Siddhas, who have attained release and passed beyond rebirth. This paradise is all of white gold. It is known as the Īṣatprāgbhārā and by other names. In the middle is a white rock Siddha Śilā, Śilātala or Sīlā, having the form of an inverted umbrella, thick at the middle and diminishing outward to an infinitely small dimension. Above this rock is the abode of the Siddhas (Mahāvīra and other Tīrthakaras).

A description of this place to which perfected souls pass, leaving their bodies here below, is given in the *Uttaradhyāna Sūtra:*

"Twelve *yojanas* above the Sarvārtha (heaven) is the place Īṣatprāgbhārā, which has the form of an umbrella. It is forty-five hundred thousand *yojanas* long, and as many broad, and it is somewhat more than three times as many in circumference. Its thickness is eight *yojanas;* it is greatest in the middle, and decreases towards the margin till it is thinner than the wing of a fly. This place, by nature pure, consisting of white gold, resembles in form an (inverted) open umbrella, as has been said by the best of Jinas. [Above it] is a pure blessed place, which is white like a conch. . . . There at the top of the world reside the blessed perfected souls, rid of all transmigration, and arrived at the excellent state of perfection."[3]

The Īṣatprāgbhārā is inhabited by fifteen varieties of Siddhas, of whom the Tīrthakara-siddhas are first.

It should be noted that the miniatures, as well as Jain tradition, appear to identify the place described as Īṣatprāgbhārā with the actual Siddha Śilā. In the miniatures, the place resembling in form an (inverted) white umbrella, is represented in section as a crescent, very thin at the margins and relatively thick in the centre. This crescent has been pointed out to me by a Jain priest, in the actual miniatures, as the Siddha Śilā; and some

[1] This subject is treated in great detail by Kirfel, W. in *Die Cosmographie der Inder*, Leipzig, 1920.

[2] E. g. in a diagram reproduced by Kirfel, loc. cit., tafel 4.

[3] Jacobi, *Gaina Sutras*, II, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLV, pp. 211–213.

of the miniatures, moreover, are thus labelled in a contemporary hand. Hüttemann is certainly mistaken in describing the crescent as that of the moon.[1]

Below the Īṣatprāgbhārā are the five heavens (Vimānas) of the Anuttara gods, that of the Sarvārthasiddhas being central, and those of the Vijayas, Vaijayantas, Jayantas and Aparājitas being disposed in a horizontal plane around it. All things below the Īṣatprāgbhārā are included in the Saṁsāra or sphere of change, mortality and rebirth: nevertheless the gods of the highest heavens reside in these heavens for periods almost inconceivably long.

Below the five heavens of the Anuttara gods are the nine heavens of the Graiveyakas, arranged one above the other; the Graiveyaka and Anuttara heavens together form the upper half of the spindle.

Below them are the twelve heavens of the Kalpabhavas (sixteen according to the Digambaras), arranged one above the other, completing the lower half of the spindle. All the gods inhabiting the various heavens (*vimānas*) above the "waist" are called Vaimānikas.

The "waist" is formed by Mount Meru, the axis of the universe, and the lands and seas disposed about it horizontally. Here belong the Bhavanādhipati (Asuras, Nāgas, etc.), Vyantara (Rākṣasas, Kiṁnaras, Gandharvas, etc.), and Jyotiṣka gods (Suns, Moons, Planets, etc.), and finally, also men.

The geography of the worlds about Mount Meru is as follows: There is a central continent around Meru, called Jambūdvīpa Bharata. Around this is the Salt Sea, separating it from the continent called Dhātukī-dvīpa. Around this again is the Black Sea, separating it from the continent called Puṣkara-dvīpa. The four parts of the two outer continents, and the two parts (Bharata and Airāvata) of Jambū-dvīpa, constitute the "Ten Regions" or "worlds." The inner half of Puṣkara-dvīpa is separated from the outer half by a range of impassable mountains, the Manuṣottara Parvata. Each continent has an elaborate system of rivers and mountains.

The southern segment of Jambū-dvīpa, called Bharata-varṣa, is the land of India, where the twenty-four Tīrthakaras, of our age (*avasarpini*)

[1] Hüttemann, *Miniaturen zum Jinacarita*, Baessler Archiv, 1913, p. 74.

have made their appearance. It will be seen that the Bharata-varṣa of the map, with its mountain ranges to the north, its two great rivers, and the sea round it except on the north, corresponds to the actual geography of India, with the Himālayas, Indus, and Ganges, and the Indian Ocean.

The cone below the "waist" contains the seven hells or underworlds (Nārakas).

Further Explanation of Various Terms

I. It should be observed that every Jina has his own particular complexion, cognizance, and *dīkṣā*-tree. These are as follows in the case of the four chief Jinas whose lives are illustrated in the miniatures:

Jina	Complexion	Cognizance	Dīkṣā-tree
Mahāvīra	Yellow	Lion (*keśari-siṃha*)	Aśoka
Pārśva	Blue	Serpent (*sarpa*)	Dhātakī
Neminātha	Black	Conch (*śaṅkha*)	Veṭasa
Ṛṣabha	Golden	Bull (*vṛṣa*)	Vaṭa (banyan)

II. A more particular account must be given of a *Samavasaraṇa*. This is, briefly, a walled enclosure prepared by Indra, or the minor gods, intended for the delivery of a religious discourse by a Jina immediately after he becomes a Kevalin. The following description of a *Samavasaraṇa* is extracted from the *Samavasaraṇa Sthavana*:[1]

Wherever the Jinas exhibit the condition of Kevalin, in which all substances manifest themselves, there the Princes of the Air (Vayu-kumāras) cleanse the earth for one yojana all around. The Cloud-princes (Megha-kumāras) rain down fragrant water, the gods of the Seasons spread heaps of flowers, and the Vāṇa-Vyantaras make the surface of the earth variegated with rubies, gold, and gems. There are three ramparts: the innermost, intermediate, and outermost. [The first] is constructed of gems, with the battlements of rubies, by the Vaimānakas; [the second] of gold, with the battlements of gems, by the Jyotiṣkas; [and the third] of silver, with the battlements of gold, by the Bhavanapatis. In a round Samavasaraṇa the ramparts are 33 *dhanus* and 33 *angulas* wide, 500 *dhanus* high, and 1 *krosa* 600 *dhanus* (counting both sides) distant from each other. Each rampart has four gates made of gems. In the

[1] Bhandarkar, *Jaina Iconography*, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XL, pp. 125–130 and 153–161.

centre is a gem-studded pedestal, with four doors, three steps, and as high as the figure of the Jina, 200 *dhanus* broad and long, two and a half *krosas* high from the ground level. [In the centre of the dais stands] the Aśoka tree, twelve times as high as the body of the Jina, and exceeding a *yojana* in breadth. Then [underneath] is [a pedestal called] a *devacchaṁda*, [and on it are] four lion-thrones accompanied by [four] footstools. (The four lion-thrones are occupied by the Jina himself on the East, and on the other sides by three reflections of the Jina, produced by the Vāṇa-Vyantaras.) At every gate the Vāṇa-Vyantaras put up flags, parasols, makaras, . . . garlands, pitchers; a triple arch (*toraṇa*), and incense vases. Having entered from the East and from left and right, having sat on a seat facing the East, having placed his feet on a footstool, and having saluted the congregation (*tīrtha*), the Lord discourses on the Law. (The congregation consists of gods, men, and animals.) There are two step-wells in each corner when it is square and one [at each gateway] when the *Samavasaraṇa* is round.

The *Kalpa Sūtra* and the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* do not expressly mention either the Samavasaraṇa or the Siddha Śilā. But the constant representation of these places in the miniatures shows that the mention of Mahāvīra's preaching (*samosarai*) the Law to gods and men, after attaining the state of a Kevalin, was understood to imply also the place of preaching, the *Samavasaraṇa*; and in the same way the statement that he became a Siddha implied that he went to the Siddha Śilā.

III. The Eight Auspicious Objects (*Aṣṭamaṅgala*). — Representations of the Eight Auspicious Symbols constantly recur in Jain art.

The names of the auspicious objects are given as follows in the *Aupapātika Sūtra*; Sanskrit or English equivalents are added in parentheses: (1) Sotthiya (*svastika*); (2) Sirivaccha (*śrīvatsa*); (3) Nandiyāvatta; (4) Vaddhamaṇaga (powder-box); (5) Bhaddāsaṇa (throne of fortune); (6) Kalasa (water-jar); (7) Maccha (fishes); and (8) Dappaṇā (mirror).

JAINA LITERATURE[1]

IN course of time the Jain community achieved (or condescended to) a systematic organization. There came into existence monuments, monasteries and schools. To this development of a cult corresponded a literary, scientific, and artistic activity, of which the earliest results brought the doctrine into fixed forms. Probably most of the original canonical Jain literature (the 'old books' now lost) thus took shape early in the third century B.C. Bhadrabāhu, the author of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, is stated according to Jain tradition to have died 170 or 162 years after Mahāvīra himself (528 B.C. according to Jain tradition); that is to say, Bhadrabāhu died 358 B.C. The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, which confirms the traditions of the *Kalpa Sūtra* regarding the life of Mahāvīra, is the first of the eleven *aṅgas* or sections of the canon of the third century A.D.[2] The whole Švetambara canonical literature, known as Siddhānta or Āgama consists of (1) The Twelve Aṅgas, (2) the Twelve Upāṅgas, (3) the Ten Paiṇṇas, (4) the Six Cheda Sūtras, (5) the Four Mūla Sūtras, and some other separate texts.

The *Kalpa Sūtra* contains three separate sections (1) the *Jinacarita* (lives of Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha, Neminātha and Ṛṣabha), (2) the *Sthavīrāvalī* (lists of Elders) and (3) the *Samācārī* (rules for monks).

This Prākṛt literature was probably in the main handed down orally until the time of the Council of Valabhi (454 or 467 A.D.), when new redactions were prepared and the method of teaching novices from books was substituted for purely oral instruction. The canonical literature as it stands dates from this period, though at that time, and even subsequently, additions may have been made. In any case, it is certain that the *Kalpa Sūtra*, including the main account of the life of Mahāvīra, "has been held in high esteem by the Jainas for more than a thousand years." The oldest available MS. of the *Kalpa Sūtra* appears to be the illustrated Pāṭan MS. on palm leaf, dated equivalent to 1237 A.D. illustrated by Nahar and Ghosh in their *Epitome of Jainism*. A MS. commentary dated equivalent to

[1] The best account of the Jaina literature will be found in Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Vol. II.

[2] Jacobi, H., Sacred Books of the East, Vols. XXII, LIII, and Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. VII, Leipzig, 1879.

1307 A.D. is also known. But no doubt the *Kalpa Sūtra* has been handed down substantially in its present form from at least the fifth century A.D.

The non-canonical literature consists of commentaries on the canon, and of original works on Dogmatics, Ethics, Discipline, etc., and hymns addressed to the Jinas; it also includes a vast literature of stories. The language of this literature is partly Prākṛt, or Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī, partly Sanskrit. The most important text of the uncanonical literature, from the present point of view is the edifying *Kālakācārya Kathānakam* so often appended to the texts of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. The *Kathā-kośa*, *Prabandha-cintāmani* and other collections of stories, compilations in the main of the fourteenth century, depict a court life similar to that which is represented in the illustrations to the *Kalpa Sūtra*.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Jaina Painting

The tradition of Jaina art is as old as that of Buddhist art, and developed under similar conditions, and partly in dependence on Buddhist art. Remains of a pre-Kuṣāṇa Jaina stūpa have been excavated at Mathurā.[1] There are very extensive rock-hewn caves with relief sculptures not earlier than the second century and mainly of the first century B.C. at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri in Orissa.[2] In one of these caves there are remains of paintings. Jaina sculptures of later periods are well known and need not be referred to here. It is worth while to remark, however, that remains of frescoes, apparently Jaina, of the seventh century, have been described by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil, from Sittanavasal near Pudukottai in southern India.[3] It would appear from his account that these are comparable in merit with those of Ajaṇṭā, though far less extensive. The only other evidence bearing on the history of Jaina painting before the thirteenth century is a reference in the *Pārśva Carita*, Sarga VI, to a picture of the Jina Nemi painted on a wall.[4]

The earliest illustrated manuscript known is one of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, on palm leaf, dated equivalent to 1237 A.D. preserved in the Pāṭan *bhaṇḍār* (monastic library).[5] Here, as in Nepalese MSS. and in the later Jaina MSS. on paper, the illustrations take the form of square panels applied to the page without organic relation to the text, though as will appear later, the intrinsic quality of the painting and the script are in perfect accord. Indian art has never developed book illustrations as such (illustrated MSS. of any kind are very rare), and the square panels we have referred to must be regarded, as it were, as excerpts from the surfaces of painted walls (of the type of the Degaldoruwa Vihāra in Ceylon) [6] reduced in size and added to the written page. It is very evident from the practical identity of the composition of the pictures in all the manuscripts that the art as we meet it represents the survival of an old hieratic tradition in which the stories of

[1] Smith, V. A., *The Jain Stupa and other antiquities of Mathura.*
[2] Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 639 ff.
[3] Jouveau-Dubreuil, *The Pallava Painting*, Pudukottai, 1920.
[4] Bloomfield, M., *The life and stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha*, 1919.
[5] Nahar and Ghosh, *Epitome of Jainism*, Calcutta, 1917, pp. 696, 706.
[6] Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, frontispiece.

the lives of the Jinas had long been presented in accordance with familiar formulæ.

After the thirteenth century the next dated illustrated manuscript is the *Kalpa Sūtra* of the India Office Library, dated equivalent to 1427 A.D.[1] There is another illustrated *Kalpa Sūtra* in the British Museum (MS. Or. 5, 149) dated equivalent to 1464 A.D.;[1] and a number of other fifteenth-century MSS. of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the Museum of Fine Arts, described below: not all of these are dated, and it is possible that some are earlier than the fifteenth century, particularly the *Kālakācārya Kathā*, M. F. A. 17.2279.

There are other illustrated *Kalpa Sūtras* probably or actually of fifteenth-century date, in the Freer Gallery, Washington, in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (MS. 1, C. 2,367) and in the Royal Library, Berlin,[2] and in the Nahar Collection in Calcutta, and others in the various Jain libraries in Pāṭan and Jaisalmer.

In discussing the qualities of Jain painting, accordingly, it must be understood that the reference is to the illustrations in the fifteenth-century manuscripts in the Museum collections and to those of similar manuscripts elsewhere. The art is one of pure draughtsmanship; the pictures are brilliant statements of the facts of the epic (the life of Mahāvīra, like the *Buddha carita*, is essentially an epic), where every event is seen in the light of eternity. To call this pure drawing, implies that it is an art of symbols and indifferent to representation. On the other hand, it is not calligraphic, that is to say that elegance or an elegant combination of lines is not deliberately sought, and in this sense the drawing is more like script (such as that of the accompanying text) made to be clearly and easily read. There is no preoccupation with pattern, color, or texture for their own sake; but these are achieved with inevitable assurance in a way that could not have been the case had they been directly sought. The drawing has in fact the perfect equilibrium of a mathematical equation, or a page of a composer's score. Theme and formula compose an inseparable unity, text and pictures form a continuous relation of the same dogma in the same key.

[1] Jacobi, H., S. B. E., Vol. XXII and in Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, VII, 1, 1879, and Zeit. der deutsch. morgenländischen Gesellschaft, XXXIV, 1880. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Notes on Jaina Art*, Journal of Indian Art, 1914.

[2] Hüttemann, W., *Miniaturen zum Jinacarita*, Baessler Archiv, 1913.

The physical peculiarity in the delineation of human forms, particularly the angularity of the features and the projection of the further eye, are incidents of local color independent of the quality of the art, the inevitable stigmata of time and place. In a wider sense the same applies to physical peculiarities such as the broad chest (often so much exaggerated that a distinction of the male from the female form is almost lost) and lion waist, and the large eyes with their corners extended to the ear,[1] which are the common taste of India and not peculiar to Jaina works.

That the handling is light and casual does not imply a poverty of craftsmanship (the quality of roughness in 'primitives' of all ages seems to unsophisticated observers a defect), but rather perfect adequacy — it is the direct expression of a flashing religious conviction and of freedom from any specific material interest. This is the most spiritual form known to us in Indian painting, and perhaps the most accomplished in technique, but not the most emotional nor the most intriguing. Human interest, and charm, on the other hand, are represented in Ajaṇṭā painting and in late Rajput art.

The colors employed in the illustrations of Jaina manuscripts are gold (either as gold leaf forming the foundation of the painting, or gold paint), yellow (which takes the place of gold as representing flesh, in MSS. where gold is not employed) black, white (pure white and a pearly white), red, blue, green, and pink. In a majority of MSS. not only is there a marginal legend (sometimes written however upon the picture itself) describing the scene, but also a thumb-nail outline sketch of the subject; it may be inferred from the presence of these sketches that the scribe having left the picture space blank, the painter, in going over the work to be done made these diagrammatic notes for his own guidance. It is to be presumed, accordingly, that the scribe and the painter were not identical persons.

A word may be said on the form of the Jaina MSS. They consist of oblong leaves, averaging some 11.5 × 26 cm. A central string hole is indicated by rubrication, but never used; the indication of the string hole thus survives as a vestigial ornament. Almost all MSS. were rubricated; more elaborate decoration is rare. The MS. leaves are guarded by cardboard

[1] Which might be illustrations to the *Rājatarangiṇī*, 1, 216, 'the very thin line of antimony which appeared to play the part of the stem to the ruby lotuses of their ear-ornaments.'

covers (*paṭarī*) which may be painted or covered with printed cotton or embroidery. Hinged cards, i. e., folders with one broad and one narrow leaf, called *puṭhā*, are sometimes used for convenience of reading. The MSS. are not as a rule tied by a cord (though elaborate book braids, (*kora*) are sometimes employed), but wrapped and tied in handkerchiefs, which may be elaborately embroidered.

It is hardly necessary to lay stress upon the value of the Jaina paintings as illustrations of the manners and customs, costume, textile designs, architecture, and furniture of mediæval India. We see for example, the routine of the king's daily life — his athletic exercises, toilet (with female attendants), darbar ('adorned' as Indian authors would say, by the presence of military officers, courtiers, brāhmaṇs and dancers), consultation of brāhmaṇs, the receiving of instruction from holy men, worship of the symbols of the Jinas, riding forth in state on richly caparisoned horses or elephants, or in a horse-drawn two-wheeled *ekka*.

Women observe pardah: they naturally play a somewhat restricted part in these lives of the saints, where they are of importance mainly as the mothers of the Jinas (we must not forget that in India, motherhood is at once a glory and a source of great power). They appear also as dancers and as nuns. Armies are represented on the march, and as investing walled cities. Monks are constantly represented, sometimes giving instruction, sometimes with pages of sacred texts which they expound, and often with a table before them supporting a book. Animals incidentally represented include the elephant, horse, ass, lion, monkey, bull, deer, dog, cobra, parrot, goose (*haṁsa*) and scorpion, and in some of the cosmological diagrams a further variety including tigers, hares, peacocks, cranes, ducks, crows, and other birds, fish, and the mythical *bheruṇḍa*[1] (here a flying elephant carrying other elephants).

Kings wear a *dhotī*, tiara, and jewellery, with the upper half of the body and the feet bare: kings and male attendants and soldiers have long hair knotted in a chignon and black beards and mustachios; beardless figures other than Jinas and monks are in almost all cases those of

[1] *Bheruṇḍa* or *bhāraṇḍa:* see Weber, *Satruñjaya Mahātmayam*, trans. Burgess J., Indian Antiquary, XXX, 1901, p. 289, footnote; and Coomaraswamy, *Mediæval Sinhalese art*, pp. 84, 85; also Kirfel, W., Die *Cosmographie der Inder*, tafel 5, lower right hand corner (the same form is also found on the Mughal hunting carpet, gift of Mr. Winthrop Ames, in the Museum of Fine Arts).

women. The Śaka king Gardhabilla and his men wear coats of the *aṅgarkhā* or *jāmā* type, as in the Rajput and Mughal paintings. The fastening is sometimes on the right, sometimes on the left side. The Śakas are also represented in what appears to be chain armor, covering the thighs, with a short coat above. Male figures other than kings are bareheaded: no turban is anywhere represented. Queens wear the *dhotī*, and a tight-fitting bodice (*kañcukī* or *colī*); with or without the tiara. Their long hair hangs in a single braid, ending in a tassel. Saints in glory are dressed like kings, elsewhere in monastic robes, which are white, voluminous, and semi-transparent (the books appear to belong entirely to the Śvetambara sect).

The formulæ of Jaina painting naturally exhibit numerous resemblances and parallels to those of Rajput and other Indian paintings. Thus, the viewpoint is much elevated, so that in landscape subjects the horizon reaches nearly to the top of the page, leaving only a narrow strip of sky in which are depicted heavy storm clouds. The manner in which these clouds are represented is totally distinct from that of Persian and Chinese art, but like that of Rajput Painting, and of older sculpture, and like that of eighteenth-century Sinhalese painting, where, however, the formula is reduced to more arid terms. A lotus rosette is occasionally employed to fill space (cf. pl. 1, folio 49 with *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, frontispiece). Water is represented by lines crossing at various angles, with or without fish. Rocks are represented by an accumulation of jagged peaks not exactly like anything else in Indian art, but in a manner related to that of the South Indian palampore designs.

The nearest relatives of Jaina painting are the Nepalese book illustrations, typically of the eleventh and twelfth century on the one hand, and the earliest of the Rajput *Rāgmālās* on the other. Nepalese painting has incidentally a physically similar quality of outline, but with far more aesthetic intention and greater reliance upon subtleties; it is refined, and exhibits a taste and preciosity quite alien to the brilliant notation of Jaina art. Rajput painting, on the other hand, though likewise founded upon older traditions, is a new development reflecting the inspiration of the mediæval Vaiṣṇava devotional revival, and is far more emotional than either Nepalese or Jaina art. Moreover, the early Rajput *Rāgmālās* are

essentially paintings rather than drawings; their concern is with human experience spiritually interpreted, using genre as a medium, and relatively realistic. In all these respects the *Rāgmālās* are nearer to Ajaṇṭā than to Jaina painting. But as in Jaina painting the physical surfaces of the Rajput 'primitives'—the texture of the color and the quality of the line—are rough, and justifiably so because of the spiritual impulse and profound conviction underlying them.

Unlike Rajput painting, but like Nepalese Buddhist art, Jaina painting is a formal art of hieratic tradition. Hence at a later period (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) it preserves its character unchanged, only exhibiting a more perfunctory treatment and a change of local color partly under Mughal influence. In its uncanonical phases (illustrations to the *Sālibhadra carita*) when the artist is left to his own resources it approximates to the contemporary painting of Rajputana (Jaipur), and shows Mughal influence in costume.

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS AND PAINTINGS

MANUSCRIPTS

1

17.2276. Manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Kālakācārya Kathānakam*, 106 leaves, 6 lines to a page. Prākṛt language, with *ṭīkā*, Nandināgarī characters, with 17 miniatures. Thiçk paper. Contemporary covers (*paṭarī*) of coarse red printed cotton. Fifteenth century, or possibly earlier. Leaves .280 × .095m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

This is the MS. C. A. referred to on pl. 91 of *Notes on Jaina Art* (Coomaraswamy, Journal of Indian Art, Vol. 16, 1914), where 14 of the miniatures are reproduced, including two in colour. See also Museum of Fine Arts, Bulletin no. 90, August, 1917, *Illustrated Jaina MSS.*, figs. 1 and 2.

The *Kalpa Sūtra*, with 15 miniatures, occupies 98 leaves of the MS.; the *Kālakācārya Kathānakam*, with 2 miniatures, 8 leaves. The text is written in black ink, and is decorated with plain red borders, the central string holes rubricated, but never used. The miniatures are painted with yellow (in lieu of gold), crimson, black, green, two shades of blue, and occasional touches of bronzy gold, against a scarlet background. Occasionally a pearly white pigment is also used. The title of each picture is written on the margin of the MS. or on the picture itself. A minute sketch of the subject of each picture is also given in the margin (the painter's memorandum of the subject to be represented in the allotted space).

A short benedictory colophon concludes the text of the Samācārī section of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. The Kālakācārya text in Prākṛt differs entirely from that edited by Jacobi, *loc. cit.* Dr. L. D. Barnett tells me that this version is unknown to him. It consists of only eighty-five verses beginning:

Deviṁdaviṁda namiyaṁ sivanihisampatti parama sāsaṇa yaṁ, Nijjiya paramaya samayaṁ naṁda usiri vīra sāsaṇayaṁ. 1,

continuing in v. 3,

Atthi Dharāvāsapure naranāho vayarasiṁha nāmo tti Surasuṁdarī piyāse puttō Kālayakumaroya. 3

and concluding

Sūri ravi eha surīṇaṁ sesehiḥ viyaṇacaṁda sūrihiḥ ejjo savaṇassa kahā saṁkaliyāsuya samuddaū. 85.

The final colophon in Sanskrit immediately following reads:

Samāpto'yam laghuparyuṣaṇākalpaḥ paraṁkāthāyā digmātraṁ. Śrīḥ. B(emi). Maṁgalam mahāśrīḥ.

Śubhaṁ bhavatu śrī saṁghasya. B(emi).

Udāra gambhīra kṛtajña puṇya manuṣya ratnāvali, Rohaṇādriḥ: nityotsavo vatsalatā nidhānam Ūkeśa-vaṁśo vijayī jagatyāṁ. 1. b.

Śrī Jñānakīya gacche maunī Śrī Śāṁti Sūri saṁtāne, bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Siddhasena Sūri paṭṭe Śrī Dhaneśvara Sūri śiṣya Śrī Mahendra Sūri paṁḍita Guṇacaṁdra nimittaṁ Kalpa Pustika svayameva lilekhe.

Jaitīsīha putra Saṁgha-vībuṁcā bhāryā Ratnāde Bhramāde putrī Lalatū Madī sānyadhyena pustika lekhitā.

"This Laghuparyuṣaṇākalpaḥ is completed. The rest is a mere outline of the story. Prosperity! Utmost prosperity! May it be well with the blessed community."

"A mount Rohaṇa for the series of jewels of grateful and holy men, ever happy, a treasury of charity, the Ukeśa lineage is a conqueror in the world."

"The *Kalpa Sūtra* book itself was written on account of Mahendra Sūri and Paṇḍit Guṇacandra, disciples of Dhaneśvara Sūri, on the pontifical throne of the Lord Siddhasena Sūri, in the lineage (succession) of the Silent Śrī Śāntī Sūri of the Jñānakīya sect."

"The book was written on behalf of Lalatū and Madī (?) daughters of Ratnā and Bhramā, wives of Saṁgha son of Jaitīsīha" (or "for the use of Saṁgha, his wives and daughters.")

The Ūkeśa (Oswāl) family is well known. Rohaṇa is perhaps Ruhaṇa in Ceylon.

List of Miniatures

Folio 1. Mahāvīra enthroned: elaborate architectural setting, lion cognizance on base of throne. Legend, *Mahāvīra.*

Plate I.

Folio 2. The Jina as Guru, or spiritual teacher: the hand raised, holding a rosary. Legend, *Guru.*

Plate I.

Folio 6. Indra, seated on a throne, four-armed, holding elephant goad (*aṁkuśa*), noose (*pāśa*) and a golden fruit: umbrella of dominion in upper

left-hand corner, the elephant Airāvata, vehicle of Indra, very small in lower right-hand corner. Legend, *Indra rūpa*, 'Picture of Indra.'

PLATE I.

Folio 9. Indra and Mahāvīra, the former standing with two hands raised in respectful greeting (*añjali hasta*), with elephant goad and golden fruit in other hands; the latter seated on a lion throne. Legend, *Indra sya Mahāvīra*, 'Indra and Mahāvīra.'

PLATE I.

Folio 15. Hariṇegameṣī bringing the fœtus to the Rāṇī Triśalā. Cloudy sky. Legend, *Rājñī* (or *rājī*?) *rūpam Hariṇegameṣī.*

PLATE I.

Folio 34. The Fourteen Dreams of the Rāṇī Triśalā, viz., elephant, bull, lion, Śrī Devī, banners, garland, moon, sun, gold vase, lake, milky sea, palace, jewel heap, and fire. Legend, *14 saunā.*

PLATE I.

Folio 36. In two compartments, filling the whole page: to left, the Rāṇī Triśalā reclining (she is understood to be present at the interpretation of the dreams, but behind the pardah). Legend, *Rājā rūpam.* To right, Rājā Siddhārtha enthroned, a Brāhmaṇa seated before him, expounding from a book. Legend, *Svapna lakṣaṇa pāṭhakaḥ*, 'Interpreters of the significance of dreams.'

PLATE II.

Folio 41. Nativity of Mahāvīra: the Rāṇī Triśalā reclining on a couch, with the infant. Legend, *Sūtikā karmma*, 'Lying-in.'

PLATE II.

Folio 49. Tonsure of Mahāvīra: he is seated in a rocky landscape beneath the Aśoka tree, plucking out his hair, and is attended by Indra (two hands holding the elephant goad and golden fruit, the two others receiving the discarded royal robes of Mahāvīra); Indra's elephant Āirāvaṇa (Airāvata) below, high horizon and stormy sky above. Legend, *Mahāvīra loñca*, 'Tonsure of Mahāvīra.'

PLATE II.

Folio 53. Samavasaraṇa of Mahāvīra; the Jina seated in the triple-walled, four-gated enclosure. Legend, *Mahāvīra samosaraṇa.*

PLATE II.

Folio 55. Mahāvīra as a Perfected Being, enthroned in the Īṣatpragbharā above the Siddha Śilā; clouds above and below. Legend, *Siddhi.*

PLATE III.

Folio 59. Pārśvanātha enthroned: the Jina is green, and above his head appear the hoods of the seven-headed cobra by whom he was protected when practising the *kāyotsarga* austerity. Elaborate architectural setting; cobra cognizance on pedestal of throne. Legend, *Pārśva pratimā,* 'Image of Pārśva.'

PLATE III.

Folio 66. Neminātha enthroned, in elaborate architectural setting. The Jina is blue; conch cognizance on pedestal of throne. Legend, *Neminātha.*

PLATE III.

Folio 72. Ādinātha enthroned, in elaborate architectural setting; bull cognizance on pedestal of throne. Legend, *Śrī Ādinātha.*

PLATE III.

(*Folio 98.* Conclusion of *Kalpa Sūtra.*)

(*Folio 99.* Commencement of *Kālakācārya Kathānakam.*)

Folio 100. Court of Gardabhilla; the king enthroned, a general and soldiers in attendance before him. Legend, *Gardabhilla.*

Reverse, Kālakācārya instructing the Śaka king: he holds a book in his right hand while the index finger of the left is raised (*tarjani hasta*) in exposition. Legend, *Śakaraya.*

PLATE III.

(*Folio 106.* Conclusion of the *Kālakācārya Kathānakam,* with colophon.)

2

17.2277. Manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Kālakasūri Kāthānakam,* 78 leaves, 9 lines to a page, Prākṛt and Sanskrit language, no *ṭīkā.* Nan-

dināgarī characters, with 34 miniatures. Thin paper. No covers. Dated Saṁvat, 1554 = A.D. 1497.

Leaves .30 × .11m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

This is the MS. C. B. referred to on p. 91 of *Notes on Jaina Art* (Coomaraswamy, Journal of Indian Art, Vol. 16, 1914), where 21 of the miniatures are reproduced including one in colour. See also Museum of Fine Arts, Bulletin no. 90, August, 1917, *Illustrated Jaina MSS.*, fig. 4.

The *Kalpa Sūtra*, with 15 miniatures, occupies 72½ leaves of the MS.; the *Kālakasūri Kathānakam* (in Sanskrit), with 6 miniatures, 5½ leaves. The text is written in black ink, with red borders and central circles not perforated; the first page with a blue pattern border. The colours employed are crimson, black, blue, white, and scarlet on a gold-leaf ground; the gold being left uncoloured to represent flesh, etc., but covered with scarlet to form the background. The miniatures are not labelled: there are marginal sketches, but much faded.

The Kālakācārya text in Sanskrit naturally differs from the Prākṛt text edited by Jacobi, loc. cit., and from that of the previous MS. no. 1 (M. F. A. 17.2276) and that of MS. no. V (M. F. A. 17.227a). It has been printed as a supplement to an edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* published by Shah Naginbhai Ghelabhai Javheri as no. 18 of the Sheth Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhar Series, Bombay, 1914. It consists of sixty-five verses, beginning:

Oṁ. Śrī Vīra vākyānumataṁ suparva kṛtaṁ yathā paryuṣaṇā ravyam etat, Śrī Kālakācārya-vāraṇa saṁghe tathā caturdhyām śṛṇu paṁcamītaḥ 1., etc.; mentions Dharāvāsa in v. 2 and Surasundarī in v. 3 and concludes

Śrīmat Kālakasūrayaściratarāṁ cāritramatyujvalaṁ saṁpālpa pratipadyacāṁtā samāya bhakti pratijñāṁmudā

Śuddha dhyānam nidhāna līnamanasaḥ svargālayaṁ ye gatā, ste kalpāṇa paraṁparāṁśkṛtadharāyacchaṁtu saṁghe' naghe. 65.

The final colophon following this reads:

Colophon:

Iti Śrī Kālakasūri Kathānakaṁ. B(emi?). Śrī Saṁvat 1554 varṣe Bhādravā śudi 8, somavāsare. Davāḍā vāstavya Śrī Śrīmālajñātīya Śrē(ṣṭhi) Sāraṁga Śrē(ṣṭhi) . . . bhāryā Mānūṁ suta Karaṇā, bhāryā Māīṁ laghu bhrātṛ

Mūlā bhāryā Pūtali Śrē(ṣṭhi) sadhāraṇa pramukha suśrāvakaiḥ Śrī . . . (portion erased) *m upakāritaṁ Śrī Kalpa pustakaṁ.*

Acandrārkka vācyamānaṁ cira jīyāt. B. Śrī. B. 1.

'Thus the blessed Kālakasūri Kathānakam. It was presented by worthy lay-disciples, namely the merchant Sāraṅga of the Śrīmāla clan residing in Davāḍā, his wife Mānū, his son Karaṇā's (the latter's) wife, mother and younger brother Mūlā, his wife Putalī, and other contributors of the mercantile community, on Monday the 8th lunar day in the light fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year Saṁvat 1554.'

List of Miniatures

Folio 1. Mahāvīra enthroned; elaborate architectural setting; lion cognizance on pedestal of throne. No legend.

Plate IV.

Transliteration of the text shown in the figure, being the commencement of the *Kalpa Sūtra:*

Namo arahaṁtāṇaṁ namo siddhāṇaṁ namo āyariyāṇaṁ namo uvajjhāyāṇaṁ namo loe savva sāhūṇaṁ.

Eso paṁca namokkāro, savva-pāva-ppaṇāsaṇo maṁgalāṇaṁ ca savvesiṁ paḍhamaṁ havai maṁgalaṁ

Teṇaṁ kāleṇaṁ teṇaṁ samaeṇaṁ samaṇe bhagavaṁ mahāvīre paṁcahatth' uttare hotthā; 2[1]*; taṁ jahā: hatth' uttarāhiṁ cue caitta gabbhaṁ vakkaṁte, hatth' uttarāhiṁ gabbhāo gabbhaṁ sāharie hatth' uttarāhiṁ jāe, hatth' uttarāhiṁ muṁḍe bhavi*

Folio 2. The Eight auspicious objects; with the Jina as Guru, the right hand holding a rosary, and raised in exposition, and attended by two worshippers. Legend, *Aṣṭamaṁgalāka.*

Plate IV.

Folio 5. Court of Indra; Indra enthroned, four-armed, holding spear (*śakti*), elephant goad (*aṅkuśa*), and fruit, the right hand raised with forefinger extended; with three ministers, each four-armed and with weapons. Legend, *Indra.*

Plate IV.

[1] The figure 2 signifies the repetition of the preceding words.

Folio 6. Indra descended from his throne and kneeling with two hands raised in adoration of Mahāvīra whom he perceives on earth. Legend, *Indra namokṣanam*, 'Indra's salutation.'

PLATE IV.

Folio 10. Hariṇegameṣī removing the fœtus from the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā, who reclines on a couch. Legend, *Garbhāpahāra Hariṇegameṣī*, 'Hariṇegameṣī removing (the fœtus) from the womb.'

PLATE V.

Folio 11. Hariṇegameṣī bringing the fœtus to the Rāṇī Triśalā, who reclines on a couch. Legend, *Hariṇegameṣī garbha prakṣepa*, 'Hariṇegameṣī placing (the fœtus) in the womb.'

PLATE V.

Folio 12. The Rāṇī Triśalā reclining on a couch attended by a maid. Legend, *Rāṇī Triśalā.*

PLATE V.

Folio 13. The Fourteen Dreams of the Rāṇī Triśalā. Legend, *Caūda(sa) sauṇā.*

PLATE V.

Folio 19. The Rāṇī Triśalā relating her dreams to King Siddhārtha. Legend, *Rājā sa rāṇī che*, 'This is the king and queen.'

PLATE V.

Folio 21. Toilet of King Siddhārtha: the king seated, a wife or female attendant dressing his hair. Legend, *Majjana*, 'Bath-house.'

PLATE V.

Folio 22. King Siddhārtha's court: the king enthroned, giving orders to three of his officers. Legend, *Rājā sabhā*, 'The king's darbar.'

PLATE VI.

Folio 23. Above, the Rāṇī Triśalā relating her dreams to King Siddhārtha; below, Brāhmaṇas with manuscript rolls discussing the interpretation of dreams. Legend, *Sabba lakhaṇa pāṭhaga rājā*, 'The king's interpreters of all prognostics.'

PLATE VI.

Folio 24. Above, the Rāṇī Triśalā discussing her dreams with King Siddhārtha; below, two Brāhmaṇas with manuscript rolls (horoscopes) discussing the interpretation. Legend, *Savva lakkhaṇa vicāra,* 'Discussion of all the prognostics.'

PLATE VI.

Folio 28. Nativity of Mahāvīra: the Rāṇī Triśalā with the child, reclining on a couch, attended by a maid with a fly-whisk. Legend, *Janma,* 'Birth.'

PLATE VI.

Folio 29. Festival of the anointment: Mahāvīra seated on the lap of a larger figure, two attendants holding vases, rocky landscape below. Legend, *Janmābhiṣeka,* 'Birth festival.'

PLATE VI.

Folio 32. Almsgiving on the first birthday: the king enthroned, before him a table, and three ministers. Legend, *Saṁvat sarīdāna.*

PLATE VI.

Folio 33. Mahāvīra in the golden palanquin borne by the gods on the occasion of his going forth to adopt the monastic life. Legend, *Sivikā,* 'Palanquin.'

PLATE VII.

Folio 34. Tonsure of Mahāvīra: he is seated in a rocky landscape under the Aśoka tree, attended by Indra, who carries the elephant goad in one hand, and receives the discarded royal robes with two others. Legend, *Dīkṣā,* 'Tonsure.'

PLATE VII.

Folio 37. Samavasaraṇa of Mahāvīra; the Jina seated in the triple-walled, four-gated enclosure. Legend, *Jñāna samosaraṇa,* 'Preaching of wisdom.'

PLATE VII.

Folio 38. Mahāvīra as a Perfected Being, seated in the Iṣatprāgbhārā above the Siddha śilā; trees at each side, clouds above, rocky landscape below. Legend, *Mukti śilā,* 'Rock of release,' that is, *Siddha śilā.*

PLATE VII.

Folio 41. Above, Pārśvanātha enthroned, the hoods of a seven-hooded cobra rising above his head; below, his nativity. Legend, *Śrī Pārśvanātha.*
PLATE VII.

Folio 44. Above, Pārśvanātha as a Perfected Being, seated above the Siddha śilā; below, standing in water, practising the kāyotsarga austerity.
PLATE VII.

Folio 47. Four scenes from the life of Ādinātha (Ṛṣabha): nativity, tonsure, as a Siddha, and in *samavasaraṇa.*
PLATE VIII.

Folio 48. Twenty seated Jinas, representing the Tīrthakaras between Ṛṣabha and Neminātha, whose lives are not related at length in the *Kalpa Sūtra.*
PLATE VIII.

Folio 50. Four scenes from the life of Neminātha: nativity, tonsure, as a Siddha, and in *samavasaraṇa.*
PLATE VIII.

Folio 54. The Eleven apostles of Mahāvīra; with an *oṁkāra* ideograph. Legend, *Gaṇadhara 11.*
PLATE VIII.

Folio 61. The Jina enthroned in a *mandir*, with a lotus below and two peacocks above.
PLATE VIII.

Folio 72. Obverse: the Jina enthroned in a *mandir*, with high *śikhara*, worshipped by two kings, four monks, and two women. Conclusion of *Kalpa Sūtra* on this page: the text (end of the *Samācāri* section) reads:

hūṇaṁ samaṇīṇaṁ bahūṇaṁ sāvagāṇaṁ; 2; bahūṇaṁ devāṇam bahūṇaṁ devīṇaṁ majjha-gae
c'evam āikkhai, evaṁ bhāsai, evaṁ pannavei, evaṁ parūvei, pajjosavaṇā-kappaṁ, nāma ajjhayaṇaṁ, sa-aṭṭhaṁ, sa-heuyaṁ, sa-kāraṇaṁ, sa-suttaṁ,
sa-atthaṁ, sa-ubhayaṁ, sa-vāgaraṇaṁ, bhujjo; 2; uvadamsei
tti bemi. Pajjosavaṇā-kappo sammaṭṭo. Aṭṭham ajjhayaṇaṁ sammattaṁ
b. graṁthāgraṁ 1716, b. śrī. śrī. śrī.

Reverse: above, Conversion of Kālakakumāra, the prince receiving instruction from a Jain monk; below, Kālaka returning home (?)

PLATE IX.

Folio 73. Above, Kālakakumāra returning home (?); below, in a golden palanquin borne by the gods.

PLATE IX.

Folio 74. Above, Kālakācārya instructs the Śaka king; below, Kālakācārya at the kiln, changing the potter's clay to gold, with one of the *Shāhis* on horseback.

PLATE IX.

Folio 75. The siege of Ujjayinī; slaying of the magic ass.

PLATE X.

Folio 76. Above, Kālakācārya seated, addressing Gardabhilla, who is a manacled prisoner in charge of a soldier; (below) Kālakācārya at the door of a monastery, two monks sleeping within (perhaps representing Kālakācārya's visit to Sāgaracandra).

PLATE X.

Folio 78. Obverse: Kālakācārya seated in converse with Indra in the form of a Brāhmaṇa. Reverse: End of *Kālakasūri Kathānakam*, and colophon with date (quoted above).

PLATE X.

17.2278. Manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (*Jinacarita* and *Therāvali Sūtraṁ* only), 107 leaves of 7 lines to a page, Prākṛt language, Nandināgarī characters, with 27 miniatures. No covers. Probably 17th century. Leaves .255 × .105m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

This is the MS. C. C. referred to on p. 91 of *Notes on Jaina Art* (Coomaraswamy, Journal of Indian Art, Vol. 16, 1914) where seven of the miniatures are reproduced. The colouring as in M. F. A. 17.2277, except that the background is bright blue in place of scarlet. Most of the pictures have legends, often repeated with slight variations in a later hand. No marginal sketches.

LIST OF MINIATURES

Folio 4. Fourteen Dreams of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā: the lady reclining below, the dreams represented above. No legend.

PLATE XI.

Folio 8. Court of Indra, the god, four-armed, holding elephant goad, noose, and fruit, enthroned beneath umbrella of dominion, and entertained by a dancing girl and two musicians. Legend, *Indra sabhā*, 'Darbar of Indra.'

PLATE XI.

Folio 10. Indra kneeling with two hands raised in respectful adoration of Mahāvīra. Legend, *Indra namokṣaṇaṁ bhaṇai*, 'Indra offers salutation.'

PLATE XI.

Folio 17. Above, Hariṇegameṣī taking away the fœtus from the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā; below, bringing it to the Rāṇī Triśalā. Legend, *Garbhāpahāra garbha saṁgharaṇa*, 'Removing from the womb and bringing to the womb.'

PLATE XI.

Folio 21. The Fourteen Dreams of the Rāṇī Triśalā: the queen reclining, the dreams represented above. Legend, *Triśalā svapna 14.*

PLATE XI.

Folio 35. Above, King Siddhārtha at wrestling exercise; below, his toilet. Legend, *Malla juddha sājai*, 'Wrestling practice.'

PLATE XI.

Folio 39. Interpreters of dreams: four bearded Brāhmaṇas, one with a horoscope, discussing the dreams. Legend, *Rājā svapna pāṭhaka*, 'The king's interpreters of dreams.'

PLATE XII.

Folio 46. Above, the Rāṇī Triśalā with a confidante, with gestures of grief expressing her fear that the unborn child may not be living, as it makes no movement; below, the Rāṇī Triśalā expressing her joy at feeling the child leap. Legend, *Śoka harṣa*, 'Sorrow and joy.'

PLATE XII.

Folio 48. Nativity of Mahāvīra; the Rāṇī Triśalā reclining with the infant, attended by a maid with a fly-whisk. Legend, *Vīra janma mejha snātra.*

PLATE XII.

Folio 56. Mahāvīra bestowing alms previous to adopting the monastic life. Legend, *Vīra dāna.*

PLATE XII.

Folio 60. Tonsure of Mahāvīra: Mahāvīra seated beneath the Aśoka tree, plucking out his hair, attended by Indra. Legend, *Dīkṣā* (Tonsure). Reverse: Mahāvīra in *kāyotsarga* posture "suffering with equanimity all calamities arising from divine powers, men or animals" — the latter represented by a cobra, scorpion, lion, and dog. Legend, *Vīra upasargra,* 'Austerity of Mahāvīra.'

PLATE XII.

Folio 64. Samavasaraṇa of Mahāvīra: the Jina seated in the triple-walled four-gated enclosure. Legend, *Jñāna,* 'Attainment of wisdom.'

PLATE XIII.

Folio 66. Mahāvīra as a Perfected Being; enthroned as a Siddha, between two trees above the *Siddha śila.* Legend, *Vīra mukti,* 'Release of Mahāvīra.'

PLATE XIII.

Folio 72. Pārśvanātha enthroned: elaborate architectural setting; cobra cognizance on pedestal of throne. Legend, *Pārśva pratimā,* 'Image of Pārśva.'

PLATE XIII.

Folio 73. Above, Kamaṭha seated between four fires and understood also to be enduring the heat of the sun, making the penance known as that of the "Five Fires." Below, Pārśva rescuing the serpent king Dharaṇa. Legend, *Kamaṭha pañcāgnī,* 'Kamaṭha's practice of the Five Fires.'

PLATE XIII.

Folio 75. Pārśvanātha standing in a lake, practising the *kāyotsarga* penance, supported by a *yakṣa* and protected by Dharaṇa with seven ex-

panded hoods, on the occasion of Meghakumāra's assault. Legend, *Pārśva upasargra.*

PLATE XIII.

Folio 78. Neminātha enthroned, in elaborate architectural setting; unrecognizable cognizance on pedestal of throne. Legend, *Nemi pratimā.*

PLATE XIII.

Folio 79. Above, a bearded man kneeling before the conch of Kṛṣṇa; below, Neminātha overcoming the gods, represented by one four-armed deity. Legend, *Śaṁkha pūrīu harihā ḍholiu*, and in later hand *Śaṁkha purīu (habhā ?) hāthe hī ḍelemo nemīnātha-jī.*

PLATE XIV.

Folio 80. Above, a bearded man on horseback at a palace or city gate, a woman within. Below, a man with charioteer driving in an *ekka* through a deer park. Legend, *Nemi pasūvāḍ;* in later hand, *Nemīnātha-jī jani* (or, *jāna*) *kare pasūvāḍe āyā che.*

The two pictures seem to suggest the story of king Samtānu related in the *Śatruñjaya Māhātmayam* (Indian Antiquary XXX, 1901, pp. 294–296). On this supposition, the upper picture would represent Samtānu's meeting with Gaṅgā in the high temple of gems; the lower, representing the deer park with Gaṅga or (Gaṅgeya) driving in an *ekka.* But the legend plainly mentions Neminātha, and the word *pasūvāḍ* can only mean 'cattle-pen.' The pictures are therefore probably connected with Nemi's marriage, the lady in the upper part being perhaps Rājīmatī, while the lower half represents Nemi on his way to Junāgaḍh, where he sees the animals ready to be slaughtered for the wedding feast. Though the animals are not cattle, but deer, they seem to be in a kind of enclosure.

PLATE XIV.

Folio 83. Ten Tīrthakaras. Legend, *Tīrthakara 10.*

PLATE XIV.

Folio 84. Ten Tīrthakaras. Legend, *(Tīrtha)kara 10.*

PLATE XIV.

Folio 88. Ādinātha (Ṛṣabha) enthroned, in elaborate architectural setting, conch cognizance (erroneously) on pedestal of throne. Legend, *Ādinātha pratimā.*

PLATE XIV.

Folio 89. Subject not identified. Rider on an elephant, surmounted by a large umbrella of dominion, accompanied by one attendant riding behind. Legend, *Hastī mūrti kākumbha.*

PLATE XIV.

Folio 95. Eleven Gaṇadharas, or apostles, of Mahāvīra or Neminātha, with an Oṃkāra ideograph. Legend, *Gaṇadhara II.*

PLATE XV.

Folio 98. Subject not identified (scenes from the life of Ārya Vajra?). A monk seated with a book, before a table, facing a nun who is addressing him, a child in a circle between them; below, a nun rocking a child in a cradle. Legend, *Vaira Svāmi pālaṇūṁ;* also, in later hand, *Vaira Svāmī cehura Svāmi pālakhī,* 'The Swāmi's cradle.' Vaira Svāmi is probably the Ārya Vajra of the Therāvali 4, or 13.

PLATE XV.

Folio 100. Subject not identified. A man, and a woman dancing, rocky landscape; the former aiming an arrow at a parrot on a tree. Erotic motif? Legend . . . *nṛtya āṁbāluci*; in later hand, *nṛtya ābāluci,* 'Viewing the dance.'

PLATE XV.

The MS. ends with the adoration verses at the close of the "List of Sthaviras"(only nine of the verses being given, the last concluding *kāsavagutte paṇivayāmi*). The original colophon, *Iti Therāvali Sūtraṁ,* has been defaced.

4

22.364. Manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra,* 147 folios, less nos. 16, 29, and 43 (no. 4 imperfect); seven lines to a page, with 39 miniatures. The text is written in black ink with narrow red borders at the sides, the central string holes rubricated but not perforated. The miniatures are painted in gold (a greenish tone is obtained in certain parts by the use of pigment over the gold), black, blue, white, and scarlet. A majority of the miniatures are labelled, and some have faint marginal sketches. Cotton-covered boards (*paṭharī*). (Folio 4, picture broken away.) Dated = 1494 A.D.

Cover dimensions .278×.127 m., leaves .226×.109 m.

Ross Collection.

Folio 1. Mahāvīra enthroned, with six attendants; the throne supported by elephants. Lion cognizance.

PLATE XV.

Folio 2. Mahāvīra, enthroned, as Guru, teaching, worshipped by two disciples; above and below, the Eight Auspicious Symbols.

PLATE XV.

Folio 5. The Fourteen Dreams of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā (twelve only shown, the sun and moon being omitted). Legend, *14.*

PLATE XV.

Folio 8. Indra enthroned, with two attendants. The deity is four-armed: l. r. h. *sūci hasta,* u. r. h. with trident, u. l. h. with elephant goad, l. l. h. with fruit. Legend, *Indra-sabhā,* 'Darbar of Indra.'

PLATE XVI.

Folio 12. Indra kneeling, in front of his throne. U. r. h. and l. l. h. as before, the two other hands raised in a gesture of reverence (towards Mahāvīra). Legend, *Namokṣuṇa kaha,* 'He offers salutation.'

PLATE XVI.

Folio 18. Indra enthroned, as at first; Hariṇegameṣī receiving orders, and departing on his errand. Legend, *Indra Hariṇegamesī.*

PLATE XVI.

Folio 20. Obverse: Hariṇegamesī having removed the fœtus from the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devāṇandā, departs. Legend, *Devāṇandā garbhopahār.* Reverse: Hariṇegamesī brings the fœtus to the Kṣatriyaṇī Triśalā. Legend, illegible.

PLATE XVI.

Folio 23. Obverse: Lying-in of Triśalā; the queen reclining, a maid with a *caurī.* Legend, *Triyadevī.* Reverse: Fourteen Dreams of Triśalā (twelve only, as before; but the sun and moon are seen in the 'Lying-in').

PLATES XVI AND XVII.

Folio 34. Seated four-armed goddess (Padmāvatī?), upper hands with lotus flowers, l. r. h. with rosary, l. l. h. with fruit. Legend, *caūdasa jhā. . . pna.*

PLATE XVII.

Folio 40. Two groups of contesting men: above, boxers with large gloves, below, wrestlers. Probably the king (Siddhārtha) at daily exercise in his gymnasium. Legend, . . . *juddha.*

PLATE XVII.

Folio 44. The king's toilet: he looks at himself in a mirror, while a woman dresses his long hair. Legend, *mājaṇu.*

PLATE XVII.

Folio 46. Four brāhmaṇas, with long white beards, in two pairs, discussing the dreams. Legend, *svapna-pāṭhaka.*

PLATE XVII.

Folio 56. Birth of Mahāvīra: Triśalā reclining, the child by her side, a maid in attendance. Legend, illegible.

PLATE XVII.

Folio 57. The Anointment Festival (*abhiṣekha*): Mahāvīra seated on the lap of a deity, with two attendants holding water-jars. Affronted bulls above. Legend, *Rāja-sabhā.*

PLATE XVIII.

Folio 64. Giving of alms. Legend, *Seva . . arā dāna.* The lower of the two Brāhmaṇa mendicants carries a begging bowl (*kamaṇḍalu*).

PLATE XVIII.

Folio 66. Like the miniature on f. 1. Legend, *Vīra pratimā.*

PLATE XVIII.

Folio 68. Tonsure of Mahāvīra: Indra (represented with only two hands) receiving the royal robes. Legend, *Dīkṣā letā,* 'He receives ordination.'

PLATE XVIII.

Folio 71. Samavasaraṇa of Mahāvīra: The usual triple-walled enclosure with four gates; a well and animals in each corner. Legend, illegible.

PLATE XVIII.

Folio 73. Ādinātha as Siddha, enthroned above the heavens in Iṣatprāgbhārā; the inverted crescent being the *Siddha Śilā* or rock of the Perfected. Bull cognizance on throne. Trees at each side and mountains below. Legend, *mukti.*

PLATE XVIII.

Folio 80. Mahāvīra as Siddha: similar in all respects to the last, but with lion cognizance on throne.

PLATE XIX.

Folio 82. Birth of Pārśvanātha. Legend, *Pārśvanātha.*

PLATE XIX.

Folio 83. Above, left, Kaṭha seated between four fires, the sun indicated above, practising the 'Five fire penance'; right, Pārśva rescuing the serpent Dharaṇa. Below, subject not identified: a lady (?) on foot followed by a rider (Pārśva?) with attendant on a caparisoned elephant. Legend, *Vāmā devī* (the name of Pārśva's mother). The picture possibly refers to Pārśva's marriage ('Pārśva, arrayed brilliantly, riding a white elephant, arrived at the marriage pavilion,' *Pārśvanātha Caritra*, Sarga VI, v. 34).

PLATE XIX.

Folio 88. A Jina seated above the Siddha śilā in the Īṣatprāgbhārā. Apparently a conch cognizance, indicating Neminātha, and if so out of order as Siddha. Legend, *Vā . . . na.*

PLATE XIX.

Folio 89. Pārśvanātha enthroned, with six attendants; the throne supported by elephants. Like no. 1, but the Jina overshadowed by the seven-headed nāga Dharaṇendra, and with cobra cognizance on throne. Legend, *Pārśvanātha.*

PLATE XIX.

Folio 90. Tonsure of Neminātha. Indra receiving the royal robes. Legend, *Neminātha dīkṣā.*

PLATE XIX.

Folio 95. The Twenty Tīrthakaras between Ṛṣabha and Neminātha.

PLATE XX.

Folio 99. Ādinātha (?) enthroned, with six attendants. Like nos. 1 and 89, but no cognizance.

PLATE XX.

Folio 100. Birth of Ādinātha.

PLATE XX.

Folio 107. Two miniatures on obverse of leaf: to left, Mahāvīra with six of his Gaṇadḥaras (disciples); to right, the remaining six (making twelve in place of eleven). Legend, *11 gaṇa.*

PLATE XX.

Folio 123. Above, a monk seated reading from a manuscript, instructing two monks standing before him; below, two monks standing before a lion. (Story of Balamitta?) Legend, illegible.

PLATE XX.

Folio 124. A monk seated reading from a manuscript, instructing a layman (prince?), and a monk with a manuscript squatting before him.

PLATE XXI.

Folio 142. Like 124. Legend, *Guru.*

PLATE XXI.

Folio 143. Like 124. Legend, illegible.

PLATE XXI.

Folio 144. A monk seated reading from a manuscript, instructing two monks, one standing, one kneeling before him.

PLATE XXI.

Folio 147. (last). Damaged miniature. Above, two monks with manuscripts; below, three lay worshippers and two (or three) monks.

The last five pictures seem to represent Kālakācārya's visit to Sāgaracandra.

PLATE XXI.

Colophons: on ff. 146 and 147 obverse.

Iti Śrī Paryuṣaṇā Śrī Kalpa Sūtraṁ samāptam . . . Śrī Pattana madhye Śrī Kalpa-pustikā likhitaṁ saṁvat 1551 varṣe āṣāḍha māse . . . and on f. 147 reverse, by another hand, imperfectly preserved, *Saṁvat 1674 varṣe māha śudi 2 . . . Pattane . . . Tātahaḍa gotre, Usavāla jñātīya, Usavāla gacche. . . . Śrī Kakka Sūri. Tatu śiṣya. . . Śrī Tejacamdrāya, Kalpa pustakaṁ pradattaṁ. . . .* According to the first colophon the manuscript was written at Pattan (not to be confused with Pāṭan, the well-known Jain centre of learning), in Gujarāt, in A.D. 1494. Pattan is perhaps the modern Patti, in the Lahore district of the Pañjāb. Most of the Jaina MSS. in

the Museum collections were originally obtained from a Jaina priest of Patti; this applies to all except items 5, 7, 13, 14.

5

19.142. Two leaves of a MS. of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Kālakācārya Kathā*, nine lines to a page. Prākṛt language, Nandināgarī characters, a miniature on each leaf. Gold figures on red ground. Thin paper. MS. dated Saṁvat 1519 = A.D. 1461.

Leaves .257 × .112 m. Ross Collection.

The MS. is described with an illustration in the Catalogue of *Sculpture, Painting and Drawings of Ancient India*, Kevorkian galleries, New York, 1918.

Six leaves of the same MS. including the last, with dated colophon, are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and one in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge.

LIST OF MINIATURES

Folio 51. Above, Neminātha bestowing alms on a Brāhmaṇa; below, the tonsure of Neminātha: the Jina is seated (no tree), and attended by Indra. Legend, *Nemi ṭhākaraṇa dīkṣā*, 'Lord Nemi's initiation.'

PLATE XXXVI.

Folio 59. Tonsure of Ādinātha: the Jina is seated beneath a tree, and attended by Indra. Legend, *Ā(dinātha) dīkṣā ṭhākar*, 'Lord Ādinātha's initiation.'

PLATE XXXVI.

6

17.2279. Manuscript of the *Kālikācārya Kathā*; nine leaves, nine lines to a page, Prākṛt language, Nandināgari characters, with six miniatures. No covers. Early fifteenth century.

Leaves .26 × .11 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

This is the MS. C. D. referred to on p. 91 of *Notes on Jaina Art* (Coomaraswamy, Journal of Indian Art, Vol. 16, 1914) where three of the miniatures are reproduced, including one in colour. The colouring is similar to II, M. F. A. 17. 2277. The pictures are labelled, but there are no marginal sketches.

The text consists of one hundred and twenty verses, beginning:

Hayapaḍiṇīyapayāvo titthannaikārau kālānilao

(Ja)yaü jayāṇaṁdayaro jugapavaro kālagārio 1.

At v. 5 we get the first few lines of Jacobi's text at the beginning of the verse section

Yathā caturbhiḥ kanakaṁ parīkṣyate, etc.

but the following portions do not correspond. The last verse reads:

Iya bohiyabahuyanarā, divaṁgayāguruguṇā jugappavarā,

Sirikālagasūrivarā, havaṁtu bhavvāṇa bhaddakarā 120

followed by the colophon, *Iti Śrī Kālikācārya Kathā sampūrṇāḥ.*

This is the Prākṛt version noticed by Peterson, P., *Second report of operations in search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle.* (Appendix 1, Cat. of MSS. in the Temple of Śāntināth, Cambay, p. 225) Bombay, 1884.

List of Miniatures

Folio 1. Conversion of Kālakakumāra; below, the groom returning to the palace with the riderless horse (?). Legend, *Kālikakumarayai.*

Plate XXII.

Folio 2. Kālakācārya as Guru instructing the Śaka king. Legend, *Śāke rājā guru.*

Plate XXII.

Folio 5. Above, Kālakācārya at the kiln, changing the potter's clay to gold, accompanied by the *Shāhi*; below, the *Shāhi* with a soldier bearing the gold. Legend, *Raṭavahai.*

Plate XXII.

Folio 6. A Jain monk, with hands raised in respectful greeting, addressing a lion; three other monks below. Legend, *Balamitta bhaṇai.*

Plate XXII.

Folio 8. Siege of Ujjayinī; slaying of the magic ass. Legend, *Gaddabhie . . . vidyā jae.* The archer on horseback is evidently Kālakācārya himself.

Plate XXII.

Folio 9. Above, Kālakācārya in conversation with Indra disguised as a Brāhmaṇa; below, with Indra in his own form, his hands raised in respectful adoration. Legend, *I(ndra . . .).*

Plate XXII.

7

21.1673. Manuscript of the *Sālibhadra Caritra:* 39 leaves (lacking f. 2), 12 lines to a page, rubricated, with narrow red borders but no indication of string holes with 45 miniatures. In western Hindī.

.252 × .112 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund: from the Nahar collection.

The text commences:

Oṁ. Duhā: Sāsaṇa nāyaka samarīyaï, vardhamāna jinacaṁda
Aliya bighana dūre hare āpe paramāṇaṁda 1
Sahūko jiṇavara sārikhā paṇi tīratha dhaṇī viseṣa
Pariṇī jēte gāī jaï, lokanīti saṁpeṣi 2
Dāna sīla tapa bhāvanā, śiva pura māraga cyāri
Sariṣā chaï soṁ paṇi ihā, dāna taṇo adhikāra 3
Sālabhadra sukha saṁpadā, pāne dāna pasāi
Tāsu carita vakhāṇatā, pātaka dūra pulāi 4
Tāsu prasaṁga jethaī dhannā-nī puṇi bāta
Sāvadhāna thaī sā bhalo mati karayo vyāghāta 5

Ṭāla. Caupaīnī:
Magadha desa śreṇika bhūpāla, pīta nyāya-kare causāla
Bhāva bheda sūdho sarada hai, jiṇavara āṇa akhaṁḍita vahaï. 6
Nita navalā karatī khelaṇā mātī nītī rāṇī

and concludes;

Dhanā bharī ṭāla:
Iṇai avasara Śreṇaka paracāvai, Bhadrā phīra ghari āvaï, jī:
Paḍilā bhīna sakī prastāvaï, tiṇa gāṭī prachitāvai, jī. 1.
Sālibhadra Dhanna riṣa-rāya, tāsu namunītā pāyā, jī:
Je tapa japa ṣapaka sikāyā, sūdhā sādhu kahāyā, jī. 2. *sā.*
Nānā moṭā dukhana ṭāli, kalimala paṁka paṣālī, jī:
Caramasa maï jiṇavara sāṁbhalī sūdho aṇasaṇa pālī, jī. 3.
Bārabara sasaṁjama ārādhā, āpa savāratha sādhā, jī:
Sara gati karmanikā citavādhī, savārtha siddha lāddhī, jī. 4.
Surā sārai sura bhavana vicālai, paṇi navi nātha nihālai, jī:
Potānau bolyau saṁbhārai, haraṣī tāhu vaiti ṇaikā lai, jī. 5.
Savāratha siddha hutā cavana, munīvara nara bhava lahisai, jī:

Mahābī dehai vrata ārdasī, avicala siva sukha varasī, jī. 6.
Prata ṣidhāṅī taṇā phala jāṅṇī, bhāva adhaka mana-āṅṇī jī:
Aṭṭa laka dāna samāpo prāṅṇī, ājita varanī bāṅṇī, jī. 7.
Sādha carita kahi vāmana sarasa, tenaie bhaṣīu haraṣaï, jī:
Solaha sai aṭhahattari barasai, āsoja vadi chaṭṭheï divasai, jī. 8.
Śrī Jina Siha-sūri sāmati sāraï, bhaviyaṇa naï upagarai, jī:
Śrī Jina Rāja vacana anusāra, carita kahyau suvicāra jī. 9.
Iṇa pari sādhu tanā guṇa gāvai, je bhaviyaṇa mana bhāvai, jī
Aliya vighana savi dūri palāvai, mana bacata phala pāvai, jī 10
Eha sabaṁdha bhavika bhaṇa sai, eka manā saṁbhali sai, ji
Dukha doha gate dūri iga masai, mana baṁchata phala lahisai, jī 11. *sā.*

According to the verses of the text numbered 8 and 9 it would appear that this Hindī version was made by Śrī Jina Sihasūri following the version of Śrī Jina Rāja, in saṁvat 1678, equivalent to A.D. 1621.

Colophon: *Iti śrī Sālibhadra tī copaï saṁpūrṇaṁ. Ārjyāṁ-jī Śrī Śrī Bālā-jī Māhā-satyāṁ-jī Śrī Śrī Lāchāṁ-jī kī tat sīṣyaṇī gaṁgā līkhatāṁ Kīsngaḍh maṭhe samat 18 sa 50 mā tīvā prabā vade sāt budavāra*
subha bhavataṁ kīlāṇam astu. Iti Śrī sapurṇaṁ.

According to this colophon, the MS. was written by the pupils of the Reverend Bālā-jī and Lachān-jī at Kiṣṇgaṛh monastery in Saṁvat 1850 (A.D. 1793).

This MS. is perhaps a copy of the same text as that named by H. H. Wilson in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII, p. 245 (without particulars): I am indebted to Dr. F. W. Thomas for this reference. The Western Hindī in which the text is written is often hard to understand. The script is a form of Nāgarī closely related to the Nandināgarī of the Prākṛt texts, with many archaic forms and spellings. ṣ is frequently used for *kh*. The forms of the proper names naturally differ from those of the Sanskrit text quoted above in the summary of the story, but in some cases two forms are used side by side, e. g. Śreṇaka and Seṇaka.

LIST OF MINIATURES

Folio 1. Seated Jina. Legend, *Śrī Mahāvīra-jī*; but the bull cognizance implies Ādinātha (Ṛṣabha).

PLATE XXIII.

Folio 3. Six niches with figures, representing a city (Rājagṛha) with king, officers, trader, common people and cows. Legend, *Sāhukār nagarī ma baṭhā chai*, 'Leading men are seated in the town.'

PLATE XXIII.

Folio 4, obverse: Dhannā going with her son Saṁgama. Legend, *Saṁgamyo.*

Reverse, left: Saṁgama grazing cows. Legend, *Bāchaḍā carāva chai*, 'He grazes cows.'

Right: Dhannā seated, the child on her lap, four women standing. Legend, *Saṁgamyo khīra māga chai*, 'He asks for milk-rice.'

PLATE XXIII.

Folio 5, obverse: Dhannā seated before a wicker table fanning a tray of food, a brass churn beyond. Legend, *Khīra ṭhāra cai bhāvanā bhāva chai*, 'She cools the rice-milk.'

PLATE XXIII.

Reverse: Same scene, but Saṁgama standing giving the rice-milk to the Jaina ascetic standing facing him. Legend, *Saṁgamyo sāṁdhāna khīra varāva chai*, 'He bestows the rice-milk with devotion.'

PLATE XXIV.

Folio 6. Bhadrāmātā reclining, regarding a miniature rice field in the air above her. Legend, *Bhadrāmātā supanu sālaro dekha chai*, 'Bhadrāmātā sees a rice field in a dream.'

PLATE XXIV.

Folio 7. Obverse, left: Bhadrāmātā reclining as before, the child on her lap, a maidservant with a fan. Legend, *Sālibhadra janamyo*, 'Nativity of Sālibhadra.'

Right: The same maid offering a vase of flowers to a man on a throne. Legend, *Gobīṁdra seṭha nai dāsī vadhāi deva chai*, 'The servant maid brings the good news to Seṭh Gobīnd.'

PLATE XXIV.

Folio 8. Obverse: Bhadrāmātā rocking Sālibhadra in a cradle. Legend, *Sālibhadra palaṇa jhula chai,* 'She rocks Sālibhadra in a cradle.'

Reverse: Marriage of Sālibhadra, bride and bridegroom seated in centre, a Brāhman and sacred fire to left, group of 32 women to right. Legend, *Sālabhadra jī paraṇa chai,* 'Sālibhadra is married.'

PLATE XXIV.

Folio 9. Sālibhadra seated with his wife in a pavilion, a deity (Sālibhadra's father) bringing golden caskets. Legend, *Devatā Sālibhadra ka tetīs pei lyāyo chai,* 'The god brings Sālibhadra 33 caskets.'

PLATE XXIV.

Folio 10. Bhadrāmātā seated: traders with shawls. Legend, *Bopārī kāmbal lāyā bhadrā dekha chai,* 'Bhadrāmātā inspects the blankets brought by the merchants.'

PLATE XXV.

Folio 11. Obverse: Above, Sālibhadra's treasury, with two men seated, and caskets; below, two men with a money bag. Legend, *Goṭhārī koṭhārā khulā chai,* 'The treasurer opens the treasury' i. e. (to pay for the blankets).

Reverse: King Seṇaka seated conversing with the merchants. Legend, *Seṇaka rājā vyopāryān bulāyā kāmal māga chai,* 'King Seṇaka asks the merchants for the blankets.'

PLATE XXV.

Folio 12. Upper left: Seṇaka's messenger before Bhadrāmātā. Legend, *Śreṇaka-jī chaḍīdār sālabhadra ka melyo,* 'Seṇaka's messenger meets Sālibhadra.'

Lower left: Abha Kumāra and Bhadrāmātā. Legend, *Abha Kumāra Bhadrā kanai āyo,* 'Abha Kumāra (the king's minister) comes to Bhadrāmātā.'

PLATE XXV.

Folio 13. Abha Kumāra and Bhadrāmātā before King Seṇaka. Legend, *Bhadrā Abha Kumāra ka sāthā Seṇaka-jī kana āi,* 'Bhadrā comes to King Seṇaka with Abha Kumāra.'

PLATE XXV.

Folio 14. King Seṇaka upon an elephant, proceeding with attendants, in landscape. Legend, *Śreṇaka rājā Sālabhadra gharā āva chai,* 'King Seṇaka goes to Sālibhadra's house.'

PLATE XXV.

Folio 15. Obverse: King Seṇaka sitting in the upper story of Sālabhadra's house. Legend, *Śreṇaka rājā cothī bhomakā bīrājyo chai,* 'Seṇaka rājā adorns the fourth floor.'

Reverse: Bhadrāmātā summons Sālibhadra, who is seated in a room with his wives. Legend, *Bhadrā Sālabhadra nai bulāvaṇa nai āyā chai,* 'Bhadrāmātā comes and summons Sālibhadra.'

PLATE XXVI.

Folio 18. Sālibhadra presents his son to the king (?). No legend.

PLATE XXVI.

Folio 19. Upper left: the king seated in the bath, two attendants massaging his arms.

Lower right: Bhadrāmātā finds the signet ring.

PLATE XXVI.

Folio 20. Sālibhadra gives alms (?).

PLATE XXVII.

Folio 21. Gobīnd conversing with his wife.

PLATE XXVII.

Folio 22. Gobīnd conversing with two of his wives.

PLATE XXVII.

Folio 23. Sālibhadra hearing the doctrine from two Jaina ascetics seated beneath a tree. Legend, *Sālabhadra sādhā kan bakhāṇa suṇa chai,* 'Sālibhadra listens to the exposition of the sādhus.'

PLATE XXVII.

Folio 24. Sālibhadra taking leave of his mother, Bhadrāmātā. No legend.

PLATE XXVII.

Folio 26. Obverse: Sālibhadra takes leave of his wives. Legend, *Sālibhadra tīn asatrī chorī,* 'Sālibhadra leaves his three wives.'

Reverse: A lady (one of Sālibhadra's wives) with clasped hands, in night

scene with crescent moon and four animals, like jackals. Legend, *Cocī hīranī sum ardāsa kara chai*, 'Cocī complains to the wild deer.'

PLATE XXVIII.

Folio 27. Subhadrā massaging Dhana-jī. Legend, *Dhanā-jī tā mora Subhadrā kara chai.*

PLATE XXVIII.

Folio 28. Dhana-jī departing: one of his three wives seeks to detain him. Legend, *Dhanā-jī kī strī palo pakaryau chai*, 'Dhana's wife takes hold of his garment.'

PLATE XXVIII.

Folio 29. Dhana-jī standing before Sālibhadra seated with his mother. Legend, *Dhanu-jī Sālibhadra nai teḍabā āyo chai*, 'Dhana comes under the influence of Sālibhadra.'

PLATE XXVIII.

Folio 30. Sālibhadra asks his mother's permission (to depart). Legend, *Sālibhadra mātā pāsa anumata māga chai*, 'Sālibhadra asks his mother's leave.'

PLATE XXVIII.

Folio 31. Sālibhadra's wife tries in vain to prevent his departure. Legend, *Sālibhadra kī astrī palo jhālyo cha(i)*, 'Sālibhadra's wife releases his garment.'

PLATE XXVIII.

Folio 32. Sālibhadra sets out, borne in a palanquin, to receive initiation. Legend, *Sālibhadra-jī dīkkhyā levaṇana jāya chai*, 'Sālibhadra goes forth to take *dīkṣā.*'

PLATE XXIX.

Folio 33. Sālibhadra and Dhana receive initiation from a saint (Mahāvīra) enthroned between two trees. Legend, *Sālibhadra-jī Dhana-jī dikkhyā līnī*, 'Sālibhadra and Dhana receive *dīkṣā.*'

PLATE XXIX.

Folio 34. Jain ascetics (Sālibhadra and Dhana) begging. Note the respirators (*mohomatī*), to avoid killing insects by breathing (shown also on folio 23), and the brush (*ughā*), to dust away insects from the path.

Legend, *Sālibhadra-jī baharṇana āyā polyau najā bāde,* 'Sālibhadra seeks alms at the gate.'

PLATE XXIX.

Folio 35. The same ascetics departing, meet a woman, Mathitahārikā (present incarnation of Saṁgama's mother), who gives alms. No legend.

PLATE XXIX.

Folio 36. Bhadrāmatā and Dhaṇa's mother before Mahāvīra, enthroned. Legend, *Mātā pucha chai,* 'The mothers ask.'

PLATE XXX.

Folio 37. Sālibhadra and Dhana die by voluntary starvation. Group of women and King Seṇaka respectfully watching. Legend, *Sālibhadra-jī Dhana-jī. saṁtāro karyau chai,* 'Sālibhadra and Dhana accomplish voluntary death by starvation.'

PLATE XXX.

Folio 38. Two women mourning. Legend, *Mātā vilā tāpa kare chai,* 'The mothers lament bitterly.'

PLATE XXX.

Folio 39. Obverse: Sālibhadra and Dhana in paradise. Legend, *Savāratha siddha devatā huvā,* 'They become Sarvārthasiddha gods.' *Reverse:* with decorative rosettes.

PLATE XXX.

8

17.2280. Manuscript of the *Ratan Sār,* 21 leaves, 13 lines to a page, Prākṛt language, Nandināgarī characters, with 4 crude miniatures. No covers. Dated Saṁvat 1633 = A.D. 1576.

Leaves .265 × .105 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

9

17.2281. Manuscript of the *Rāja Prasnīya,* 76 leaves. 1 to 16 lines to a page, Prākṛt language with Sanskrit *ṭīkā,* Nandināgarī characters, no miniatures. No covers, but outer leaves decorated in red. Finely written on thin paper. Dated Saṁvat 1665 = A.D. 1608.

Leaves .265 × .11 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Colophon: *Saṁvat 1665 varṣe . . . lekhi: Śrī.*

Extract from *ṭīkā* on last page: *Iti mala(ya)giri viracitā Rāja Prasnīyopāṁga vṛtti.* Properly called the *Rayapaseṇaïjja*, this is the second of the 12 Upaṅgas of the Jaina canon. It begins with account of the god Sūriyāthā's pilgrimage to Mahāvīra but consists mainly of dialogue betwen King Paësi (?Prasenajit) and the monk Kesi, and ends with the king's conversion. Kesi maintains that there exists a soul independent of the body. Paësi claims to have proved the contrary by experiment. The book is parallel to the Pāyāsisuthe of the Buddhist canon; and the type is found also in the Buddhist *Milindaprasna.*

The contents have been described by Leumann, E., Oriental Congress, VI, Leiden 1883, III, 2, 490 ff.

PLATE XXXI.

10

17.2282. Manuscript of the *Sāmudrika Lakṣaṇa*, a work on physiognomy or rhetoric; in Sanskrit. Six leaves, seventeen lines to a page, no miniatures, no covers.

Leaves .275 × .22 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The text commences:

Ādidevaṁ praṇampādau sarvvajñaṁ sarbadarśinaṁ
Sāmudrikam pravakṣyāmi subhagaṁ puruṣastriyo 1.
Pūrvamāyuḥ parīkṣet paścāllakṣaṇaṁevaca
Āyurhīnā narānāryyo lakṣaṇaiḥ kiṁprayojanaṁ 2.

and concludes

Jñātavyaṁ vivudhaiḥ strīṇām, lakṣaṇaṁbāpya lakṣaṇaṁ
Kulavṛddhi yaśovṛddhiḥ, lakṣmī bṛddhi bhāvet yataḥ 49.

followed by the colophon:

Iti Śrī Sāmudrike Lakṣaṇādhyāyaḥ: graṁthāgraṁtha 277 saṁpūrṇaṁ,

followed by fourteen lines of *mantras.*

11

17.2283. Manuscript of the *Bhava-vairāga śataka.* 8 leaves, 6 lines to a page, Prākṛt language, with Sanskrit *ṭīkā*, Nandināgarī characters, no miniatures. No covers. Finely written on thin paper. Sixteenth century.

Leaves .254 × .11 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Colophon: *Itī Bhava vairāga śatakaṁ samāpṭaḥ b(emi)* [Not to be confused with the well-known *Vairāgya Śataka* of Bhartṛhari].

A hundred verses on the nonentity of phenomena, the vanity of all earthly weal, the sorrow of birth and death, etc., for which the Jaina religion is the only remedy. The text has been published and translated by Tessitori, L. P., in Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana, 22, 179–211 and 24, 405 ff.

PLATE XXXII.

12

17.2284. Manuscript of the sixth section of the *Nala-Davadantī*, consisting of two leaves, the outer side of each with coloured decoration. Hindī language, Nāgarī characters. Dated *Saṁvat solaḥ tihuttaraiṁ* (sc. *tihattaraiṁ*), i.e. 1673 = A.D. 1616.

Leaves .242 ×.104 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The latter part of the *Kathā Kośa* (trans. Tawney, C. H., London, 1895) contains a lengthy version of the story of Nala and Damayantī: the present MS. mentions different names and seems to belong to an older and different recension, if, indeed, it has any connection with the story apparently indicated by the name—the contents appear to be merely edifying. It consists of 15 *caupāīs* and a lengthy colophon, part of which is hardly decipherable.

Commencement:

Sakala jaina guru pranamuṁpāyā, vāgadeva mujha karahu pasāyā
Gāisu āhu kumara riṣirāyā, jiṇa muni pālī pravacana māyā 1.
Sakala sudāvā hoï vadhāvā, āha. kumara muṇivara guṇa gāvā. Āṁkaṇī
Magadha desa tribhuvani viṣyātā, pura vacsaṁ tajyāṁ racyoï viṣyātā
Vasaï sāmāyaka nāma kuvaṁvī (?), *savala citraṁ māyā naviṭaṁtr*
Dharmaghoṣa guru āyā nāṇī, vadi suṇaï desaṇa jiṇa vāṇī.

Extract from the colophon:

Dhala dasamī gītā chandniḥ, Sudharmā Sāmi paraṁparā:
Chandra kula Vayara Sāmi sākhi, Kotika gaṇa Gaccha Kharatarāü:
bhaṭṭārakā subhāṣi subhāṣi, yuga para dhāna Jiṇacaṁdra prathama
śiṣya siromaṇī: jasu Gotra Rīhaḍa nāma paṁḍita Sakalacaṁdra
prasidha ghaṇi: tasu sīsaya bhaṇaī Samayasūṁdara

upādhyāyaïṁ sīparaïṁ vācanacām.
Reja Harṣanandana prathama śiṣyanaïṁ ādaraïṁ 1.
Gotra Golocha . . .
Saṁghamaïṁ dīpatā Kharatara Gaccha siṇagāra, sinagāra, dharma taṇā dhuraṁdara deva guru rāgī ghaṇūṁ. Rāyamalla-putra-ratna Amipāla Khettasī Netasī taṇūṁ. Rāja Sītā sabhatī javi hunskiṇa Netasī āgraha karī. Caüpaī kīdhī Samayasūṁdara Nala Davadaṁtī caritasa. 2.
Saṁvat solaḥ tihuttaraïṁ māsa vasaṁta Ānaṁda nagara manohara meḍataü. Jiṁhāvā supūjya Jiṇade Vāsapūjya tīrthakara prasādaï
Gaccha Kharatara . . . yuga para dhāna Jinasiṁha Sūri sadaguru . . . . Samayasūṁdara kīyaü āgraha Netasī . . . Caüpaī nalada davakerī catura māṇasa citavasvī. 3.
Iti Śrī Nala Davadaṁtī saṁbamdhe ṣaṣṭā khamdaḥ samāptaḥ. Śubham bhavatu, Lūṇāvāsa madhye.

From which it appears that Samayasundara, disciple of Sakalacandra and guru of Harṣanandana, wrote this poem in 1673 Saṁvat, at the instigation of Netasī son of Rāyamalla, in Luṇāvāsa monastery of the city of Ānanda.

The date *solaḥ tihuttaraiṁ* must be read as *solaḥ tihattaraiṁ*, giving 1673 Saṁvat, equivalent to 1616 A.D. Jinasiṁha Sūri of the Bṛhat-Kharatara Gaccha died in Saṁvat 1674. Ānanda is the modern Ānand, chief town of the Khaira district of the Bombay Presidency.

PLATES XXXIII and XXXIV.

13

21.1664. *Stotra* in praise of Jinas, in Sanskrit. Single leaf of text written on one side only in red and white Nāgarī characters on a black ground. Dimensions, .264 × .12 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

14

21.1665. *Stotra* in praise of Neminātha, in Sanskrit. Single leaf of text, written on one side only in white Nāgarī characters on a red ground. Dimensions, .263 × .119 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Colophon (not wholly legible):
Iti Śrī Paṁḍita kṛtaṁ Śāli Nemināthastotraṁ sampurṇaṁ . . . mūlo-dharmmo jinoktaṁ.

JINAS

15

17.2295. Painting on cotton, representing the Jina Pārśvanātha enthroned, with deities, saints and symbols in the surrounding compartments. Probably fifteenth century.

Dimensions, .30 × .31 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Described and reproduced in (Coomaraswamy, *Notes on Jaina Art*, Journal of Indian Art, Vol. 16, 1914).

The central figure is drawn over a square of gold leaf, in the manner of MSS. M.F.A. 17.2277 and 2278, the colours used being scarlet (background), yellow (for flesh, etc.), crimson, pink, blue, green, black, and white. The cloth has been primed before painting. Spots of sandal paste on the chief figures show that the picture has been used as a cult object. Originally folded in nine, with a *nandiyāvartta* diagram at the back.

Iconography:

1. Śri Pārśvanātha enthroned in a *mandir*.
2. Samavasaraṇa of Śri Pārśvanātha.
3. 'Pañca-pad': five Oṁkāra ideographs, and five Siddhas, above the Siddha-śilā. These five persons probably represent the 'Pañcapuruṣa' (whose significance in Jaina mythology is unknown to me: but see Blumhardt, J. F., *Catalogue of Hindi, Hindustani, and Panjabi MSS. in the British Museum*, 1999, p. 4).
4. The god Indra.
5. The Nāga Dharaṇendra.
6. The Yakṣiṇī Padmāvatī.
7. The goddess Padmāvatī (or Ambikā?).
8. Suddharma Swāmi (?) (successor of Gāutama Swāmi).
9. Not identified.
10. Gāutama Swāmi (Mahāvīra's successor as spiritual leader of the Jaina community).

PLATE XXXV.

16

17.2296. Drawing representing Śrī Pārśvanātha enthroned: cobra (*nāga*) cognizance.

Dimensions, .064 × .128 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

17

17.2297. Painting representing Śrī Ṛṣabha enthroned: bull cognizance.

Dimensions, .074 × .090 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

18

17.2298. Drawing representing Śrī Ṛṣabha enthroned in a *mandir*: bull cognizance.

Dimensions, .113 × .288 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XXXVI.

19

17.2299. Painting representing Śrī Kunthanātha enthroned: goat (*chāga*) cognizance.

Inscribed: *Kunthanātha-jī 17.*

Dimensions, .128 × .197 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

20

17.2300. Painting representing Śrī Arahanātha enthroned: *nandiyāvartta* cognizance.

Inscribed: *Arahanātha-jī 18.*

Dimensions, .127 × .193 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

21

17.2311. Painting representing Abhinandana-Nātha, with monkey (*kapi*) cognizance. Inscribed *Śrī Abhinandana-jī 4.*

Dimensions, .115 × .153 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XXXVI.

Miscellaneous Drawings

22

17.2285. The Fourteen Dreams of the Rāṇī Triśalā. Coloured drawing. Dated equivalent to A.D. 1627.

Dimensions, .252 × .105 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Iconography: upper row, from left to right,

(1) Elephant (*hastī*), (2) Bull (*ṛṣabha*), (3) Lion (*sīha*), (4) Lakhmī, (5) Garlands (*phulnī-mālā*), (6) moon (*candamā*), (7) Sun (*Sūrya*):

Lower row, from left to right . . .

(8) Banner (*dhvaja*), (9) Golden vase (*purṇa-kalasa*), (10) Lotus lake (Mānasarovara), (11) Sea of Milk (*samudra*), (12) Heavenly mansion (*vimāna*), (13) Jewel-heap (*ratan*), (14) Smokeless fire (*niradhuma-agni*).

Each of the items labelled in Nāgarī characters: there is also one line of inscription giving the date Saṁvat 1684 (= A.D. 1627) and place Campāvatī (probably near Jodhpur).

Plate XXXVII.

23

17.2286. The Fourteen Dreams of the Rāṇī Triśalā. Coloured drawing. Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .24 × .107 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Iconography; upper row, from left to right:

(1) Elephant, (2) Bull, (3) Sun, (4) Moon, (5) Golden vase, (6) Lotus lake, (7) Heap of gems;

Lower row, from left to right:

(8) Lion, (9) Garland, (10) Banner, (11, centre panel) Lakṣmī, (12) River or sea, (13) Mansion, (14) Fire.

Plate XXXVII.

24

17.2287. The Eight auspicious objects (*aṣṭamaṅgala*) and the Fourteen Dreams of the Rāṇī Triśalā: reverse with miscellaneous sketches. Uncoloured drawing.

Dimensions, .315 × .195 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

25

17.2288. Four leaves of crude sketches. Nineteenth century. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

26

17.2289. Illustration to the *Sālibhadra caritra:*

Painting; three architectural compartments. In the centre Sālibhadra and Dhana seated on a throne, conversing with Bhadrāmātā who stands before them; to right and left, the thirty-two wives of Sālibhadra. Cf. 17.1673, f. 8 with a group of 27 women. With labels in Nandināgarī characters. At the back is written a list of the Fourteen Dreams of the Rāṇī Triśalā. Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .274 × .120 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The legends above the three central figures read: *Bhadrāmātā chai, Sālabhadra Seṭh chai, Dhano nāmai bahaneṷ.*

PLATE XXXII.

27

17.2290. Fragment of painting representing a man applying sectarian marks to his forehead. Perhaps Rajput. Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .08 × .05 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XXXVI.

28

17.2291. Outer leaf of a MS. with decoration: reverse with painting of a Jain priest worshipping the vision of Sarasvatī, who is four-armed and carries book and *vīṇā,* and rides on *haṁsa.* The priest waves a *caurī* and carries a bowl: behind him a flowering tree. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .215 × .107 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XXXII.

29

17.2292. Painting, representing Śrī Kṛṣṇa on lotus seat: four-armed, with lotus, chank, and mace. Perhaps Rajput. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .056 × .044 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Items 17.2293 and 17.2294 are by the same hand.

30

17.2293. Painting, representing Rāma and Sītā enthroned, attended by Lakṣmaṇa and Hanuman. Perhaps Rajput. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .067 × .046 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

31

17.2294. Painting, representing two men seated, one with a *sitār*, the other reading or singing from a book.

Perhaps Rajput. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .569 × .046 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

32

22.706. Hrīṁkāra *yantra*. A diagram of a squatting human figure within the monogram Hrīṁ: dated equivalent to A.D. 1705.

Dimensions, .403 × .578 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

The uppermost enclosed area reads:

Me svahā. Oṁ Hrīṁ Srī Ṛṣabha ajita Saṁva Abhinandana sumati . . . bhaṁvaṁtu

The main text commences:

Oṁ Hrīṁ Śrīṁ Klīṁ namo arihamtāṇaṁ namo siddhānāṁ namo āpa asya yantra prabhāva. sarva manuṣyāsaṁ strīyā sarva rājā navāyaha:

Text six lines from the bottom begins:

Vi(krama) saṁvat 1762 and concluded *sarva siddhi guru kī ajnā kura.*

Various feminine deities (Caṇḍikā, Sāradā, Padmavatī, Gomukha, etc.) are represented as having their seat in the parts of the body.

The Hrīṁkāra is a monogram symbol associated with Pārśvanātha and according to Jaina interpretation is composed of the letters *ha* (meaning Pārśvanātha), *ra* (meaning Dharaṇendra), and *ī* (meaning Padmāvatī). (Burgess, J., *Papers on Śatruñjaya and the Jains*, Indian Antiquary, XIII, 1884, p. 279.)

PLATE XXXIX.

LIST OF DONORS

Marianne Brimmer Fund. 21.1673, 64, 65.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. 22.706.

Denman W. Ross. 17.2276–2300, 2311; 19.142; 22.364.

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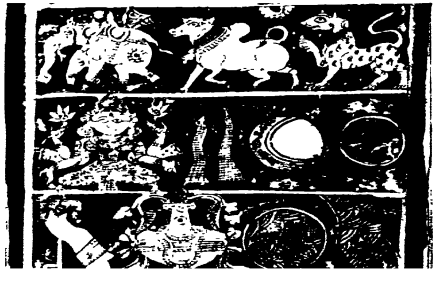

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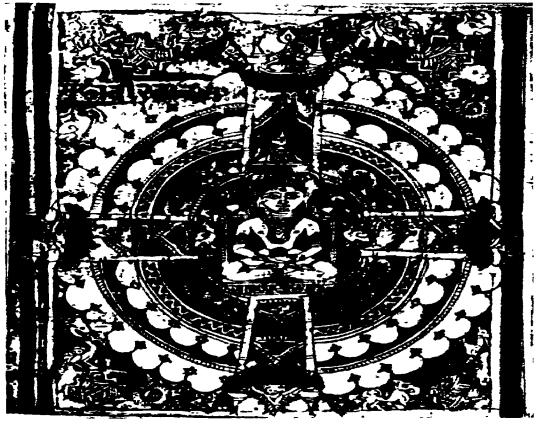

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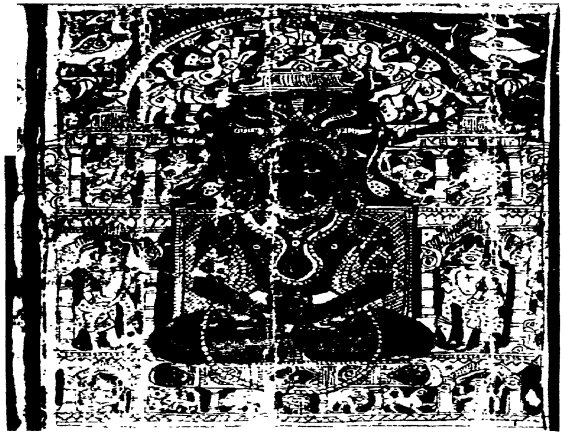

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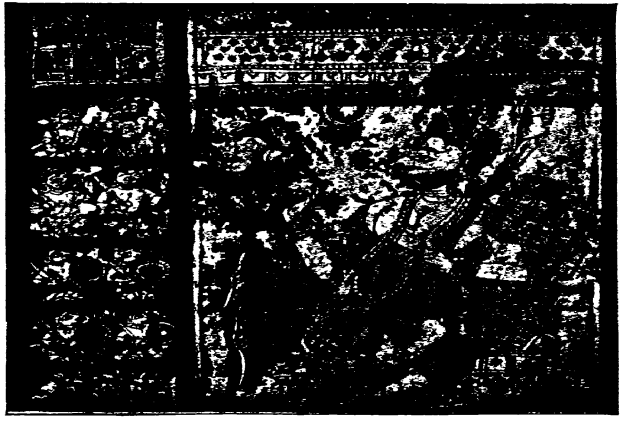

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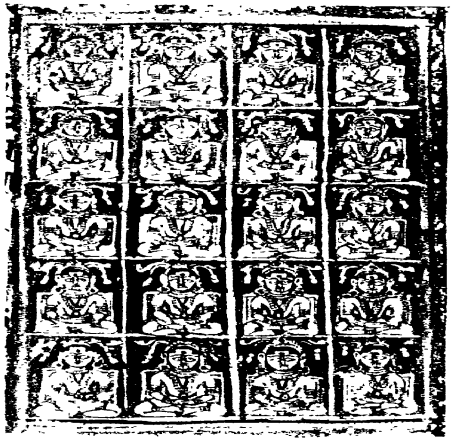

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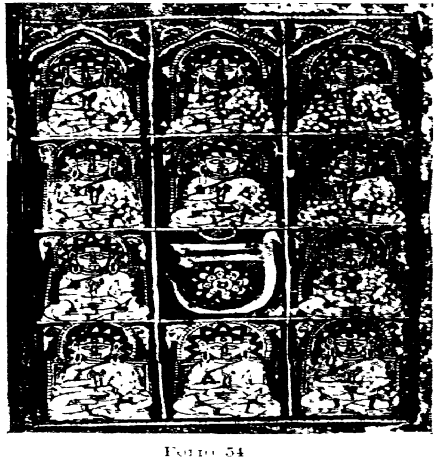

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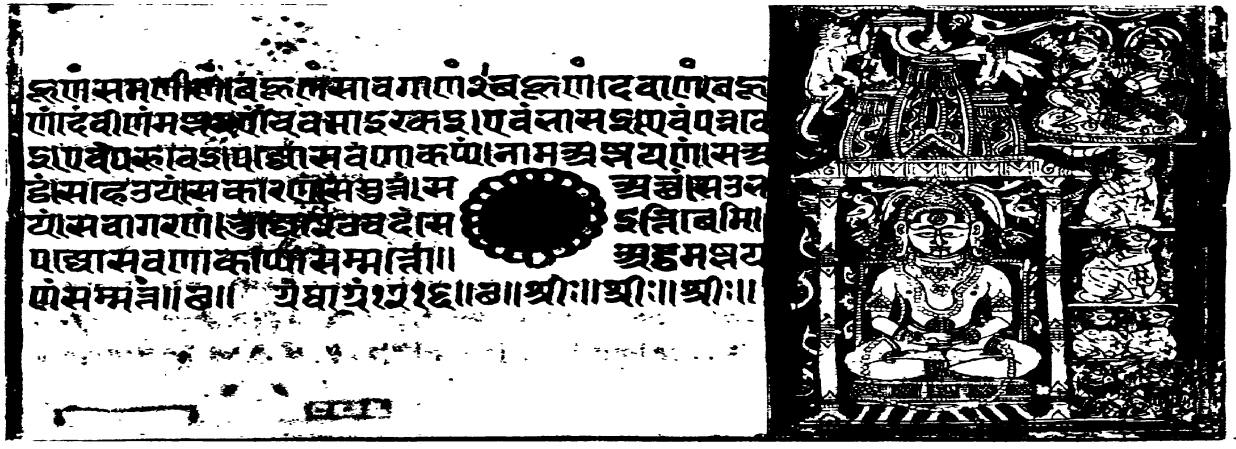

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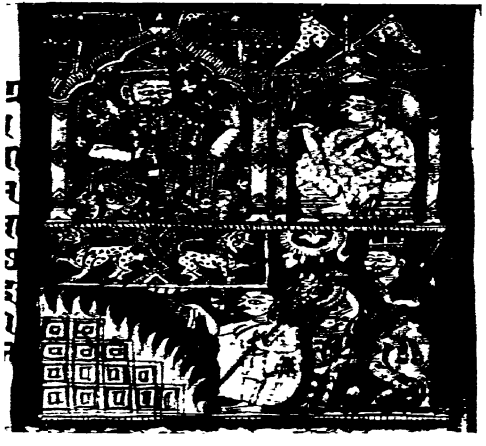

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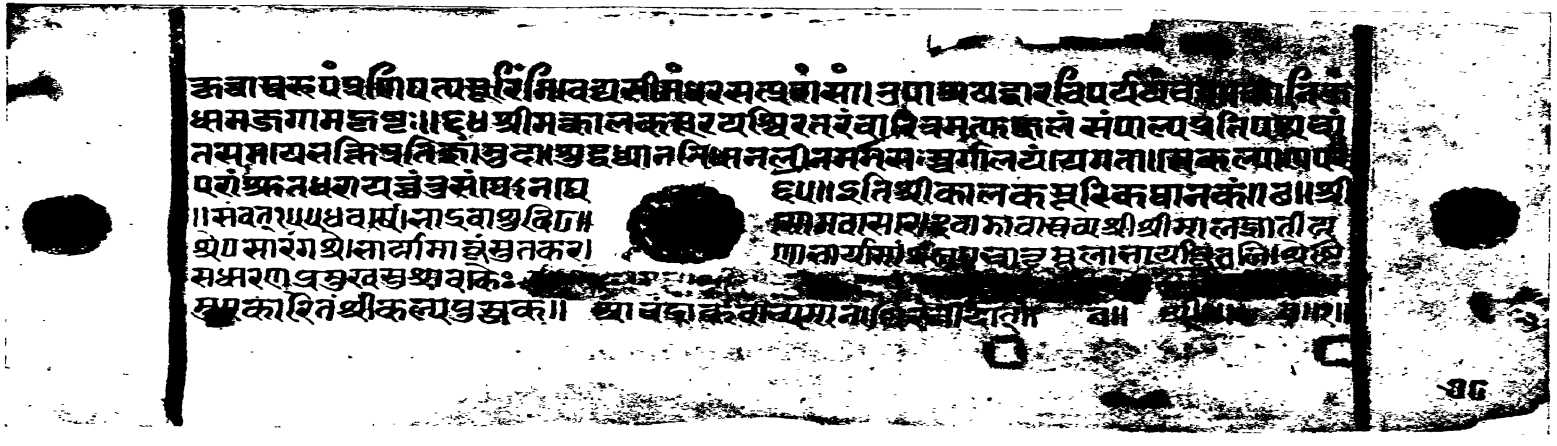

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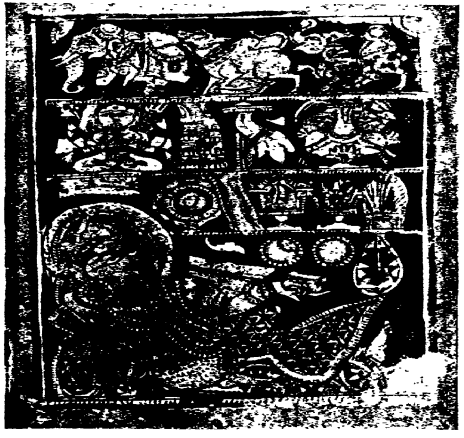

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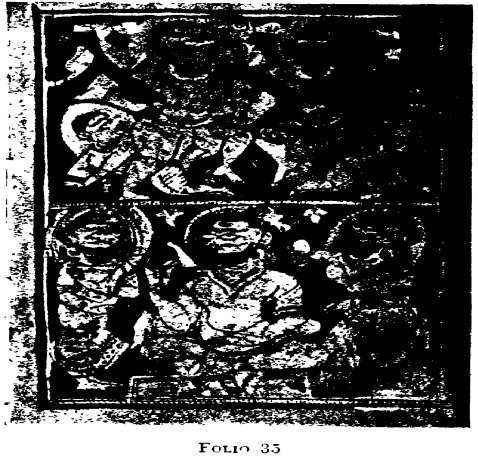

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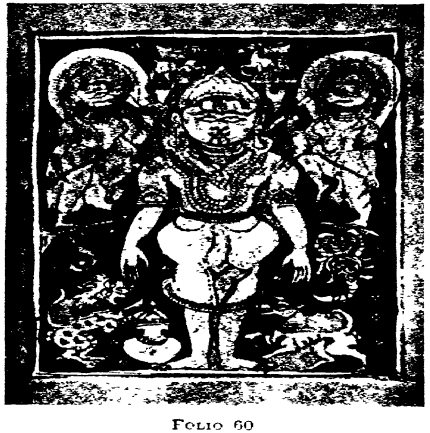

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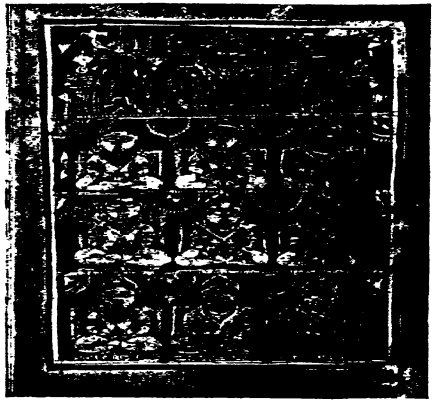

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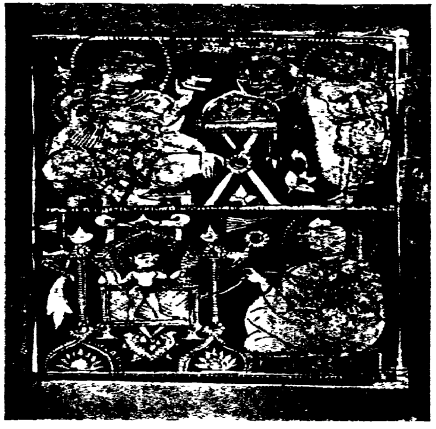
FOLIO 89

FOLIO 95



FOLIO 98

FOLIO 100

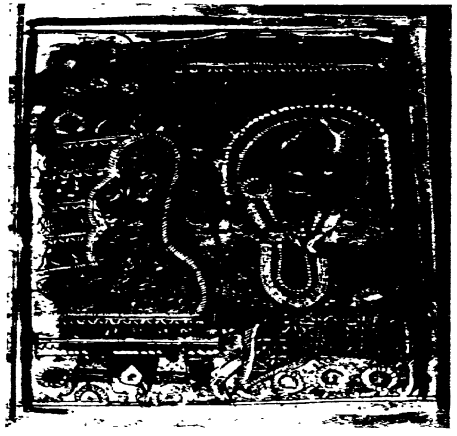
FOLIO 1

FOLIO 2

FOLIO 5

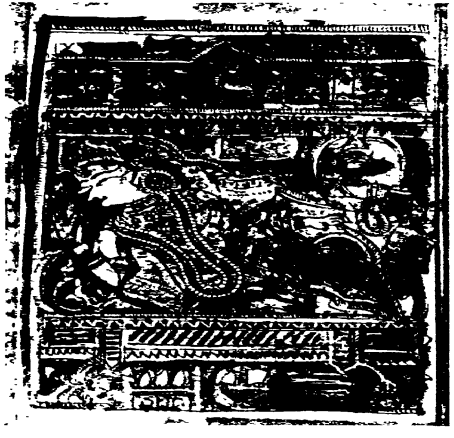
3. (17.227S) and 4. (22.364)

FOLIO 8



FOLIO 12

FOLIO 18

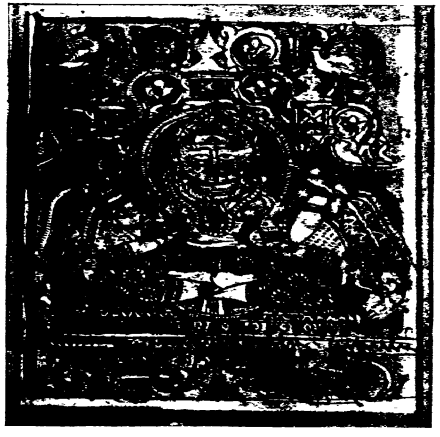


FOLIO 20

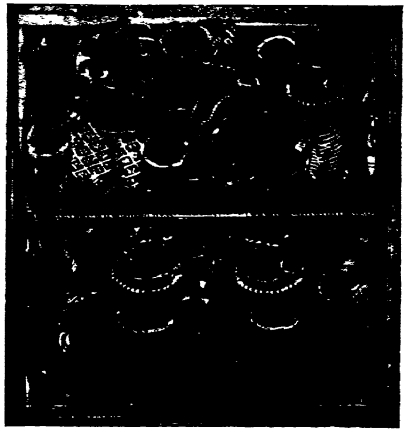
FOLIO 20

FOLIO 23

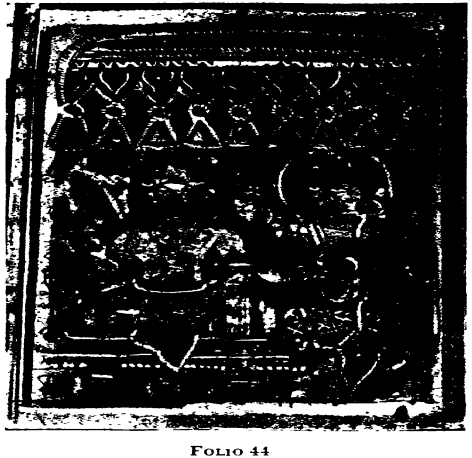
FOLIO 23



FOLIO 34



FOLIO 40



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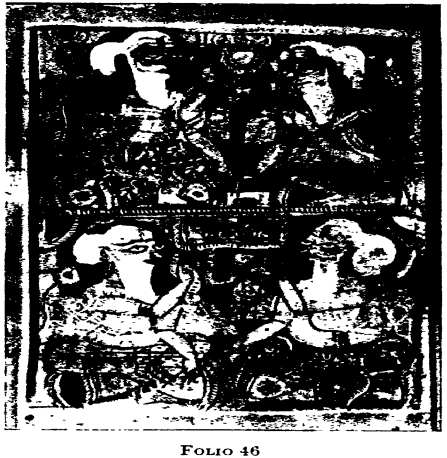
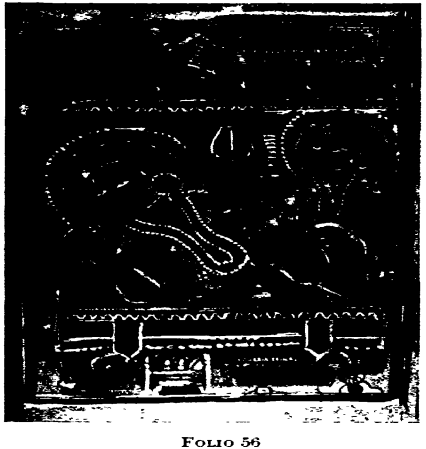


FOLIO 46



FOLIO 56

4. (22.364)

FOLIO 57

FOLIO 64

FOLIO 66

FOLIO 68

FOLIO 71

FOLIO 73

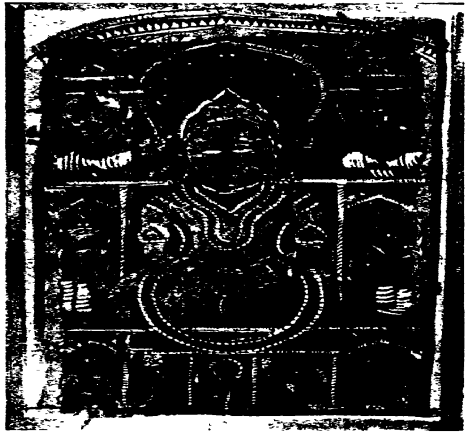
4. (22.364)

FOLIO 80

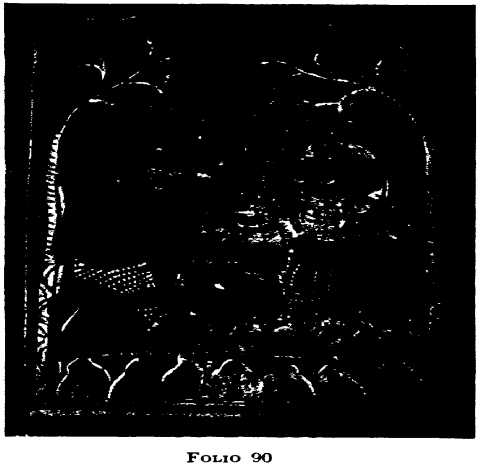
FOLIO 82

FOLIO 83

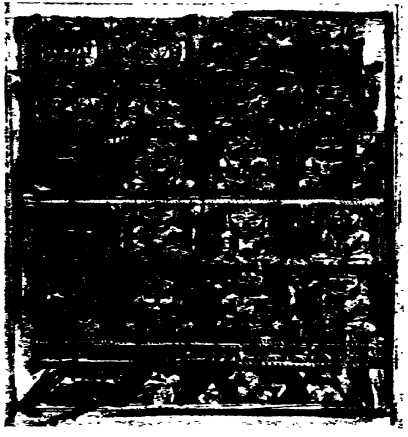
FOLIO 88



FOLIO 89



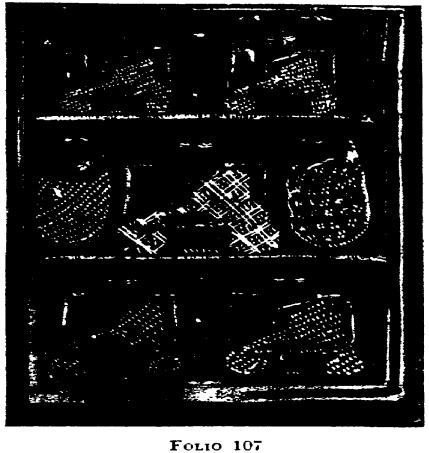
FOLIO 90



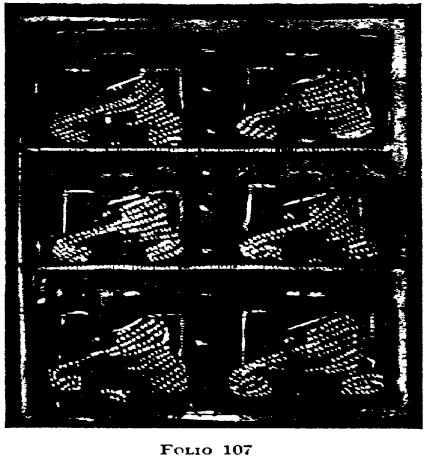
FOLIO 95

FOLIO 99

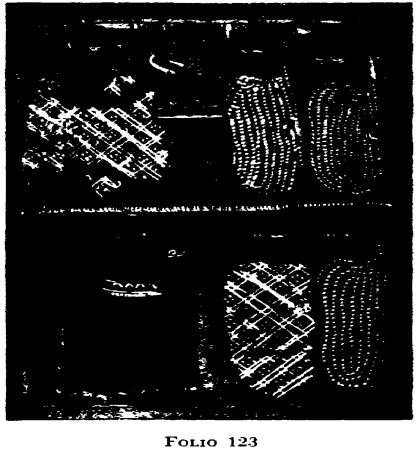
FOLIO 100



FOLIO 107

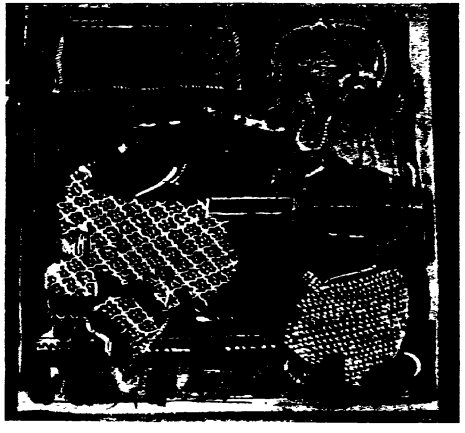


FOLIO 107

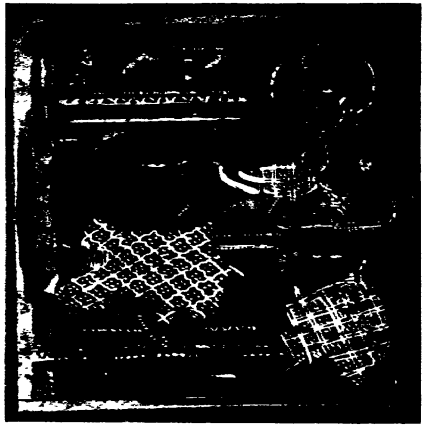


FOLIO 123

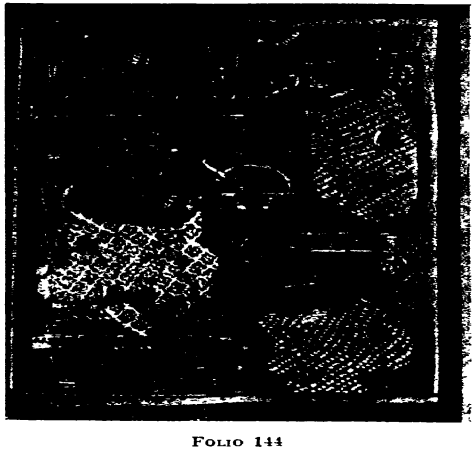
FOLIO 124



FOLIO 142



FOLIO 143



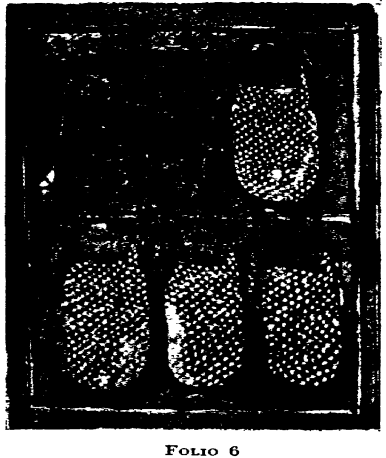
FOLIO 144

FOLIO 147

FOLIO 1

FOLIO 2

FOLIO 5



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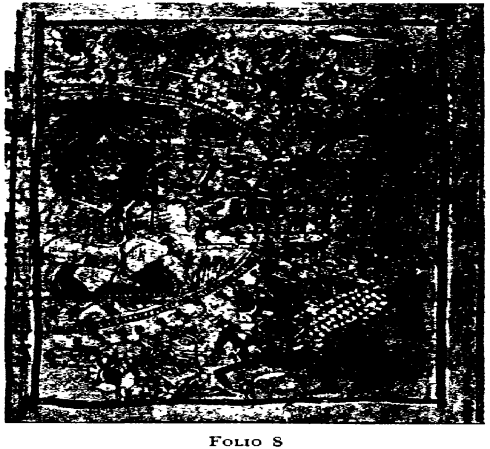
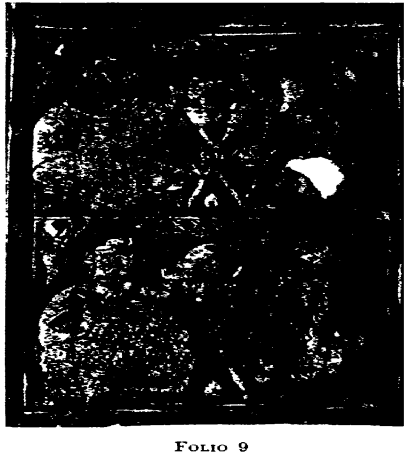
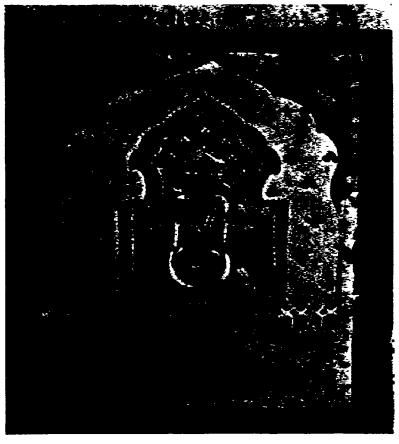


FOLIO 8



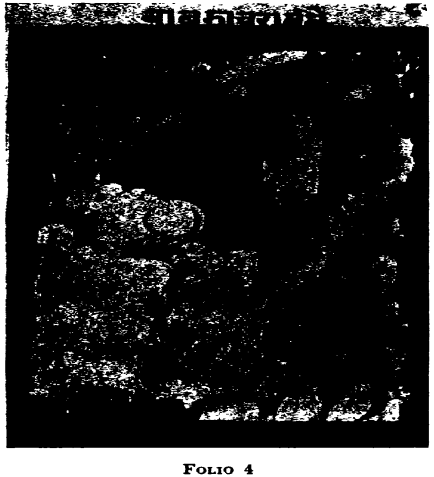
FOLIO 9



FOLIO 1

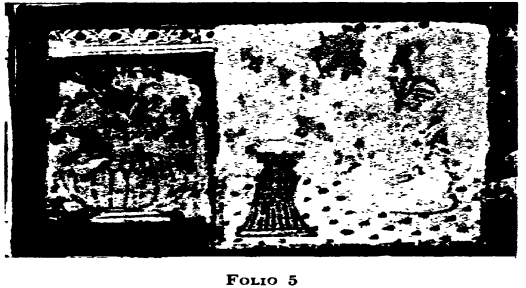
FOLIO 3

FOLIO 4



FOLIO 4

FOLIO 4



FOLIO 5

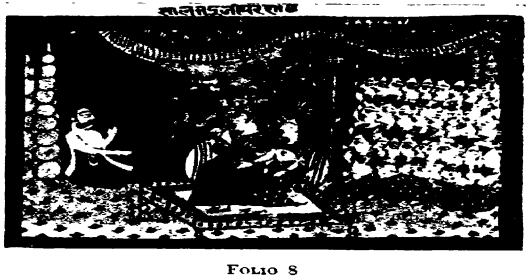
FOLIO 5

FOLIO 6

FOLIO 7

FOLIO 8

FOLIO 7



FOLIO 8

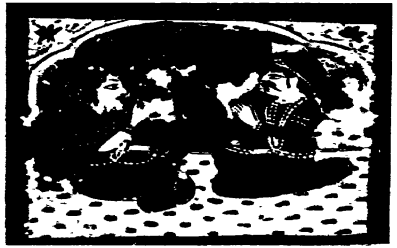
FOLIO 9

FOLIO 10

FOLIO 11

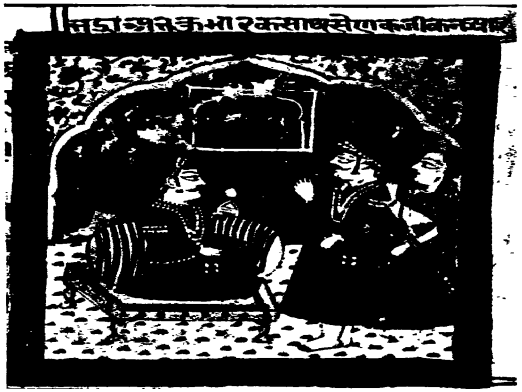
FOLIO 11

FOLIO 12



FOLIO 12

FOLIO 14

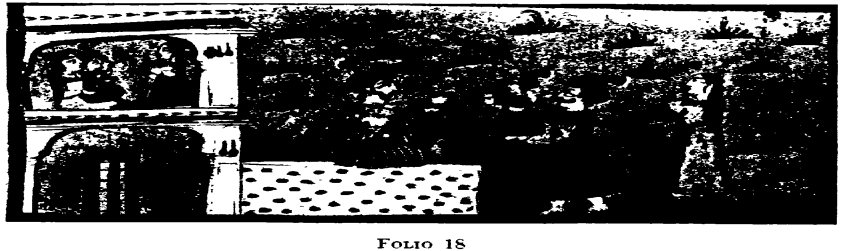


FOLIO 13

Folio 15

Folio 15

Folio 19



Folio 18

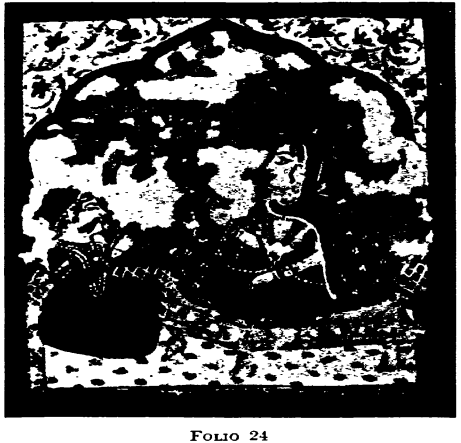
Folio 19

FOLIO 20

FOLIO 21

FOLIO 22

FOLIO 23



FOLIO 24

FOLIO 26

7. (21.1673)

FOLIO 26

FOLIO 27

FOLIO 28

FOLIO 29

FOLIO 30

FOLIO 31

FOLIO 32

FOLIO 33

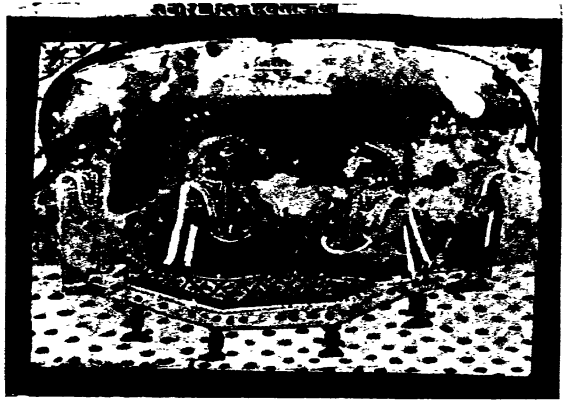
FOLIO 34

FOLIO 35

FOLIO 36

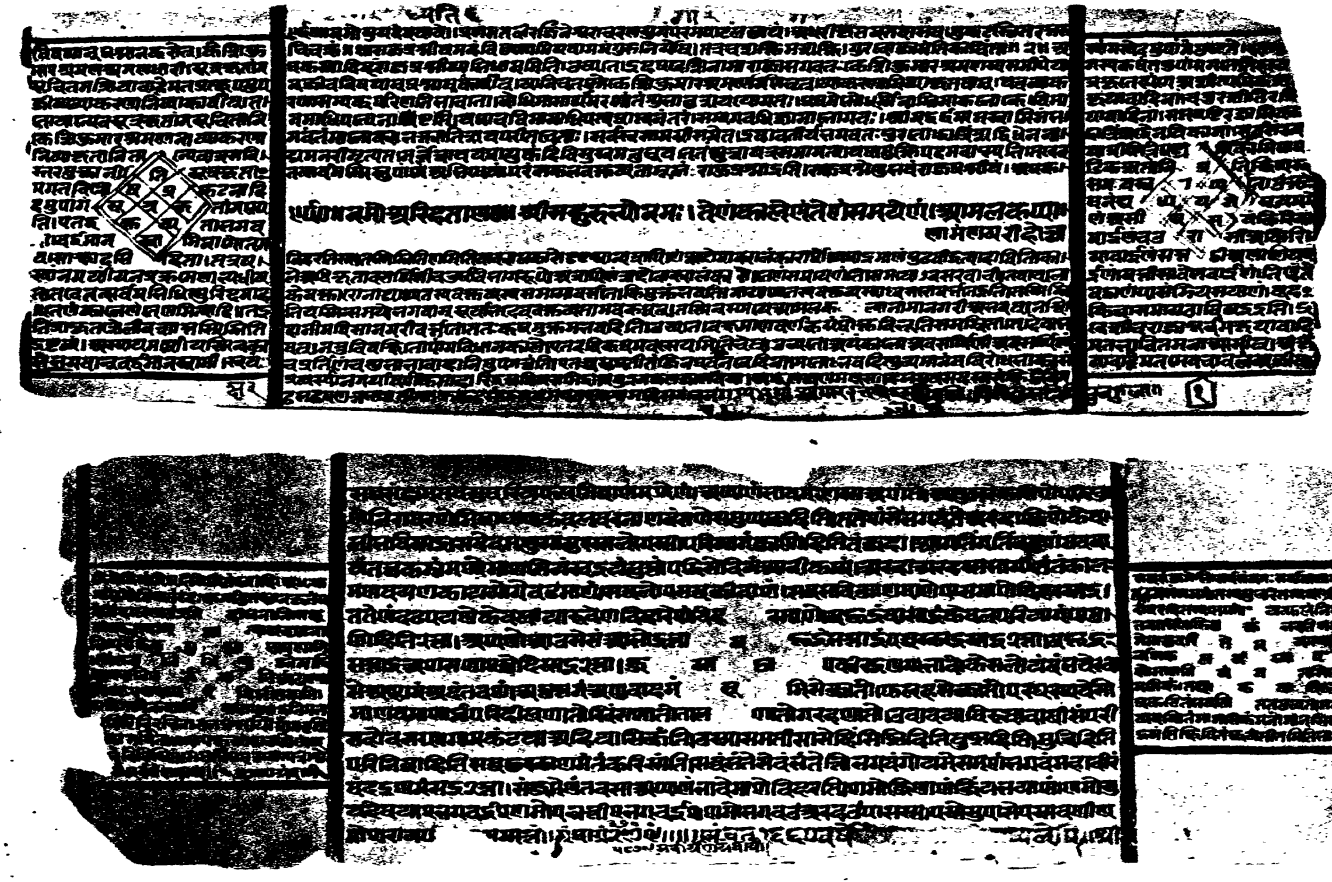
FOLIO 37

FOLIO 38

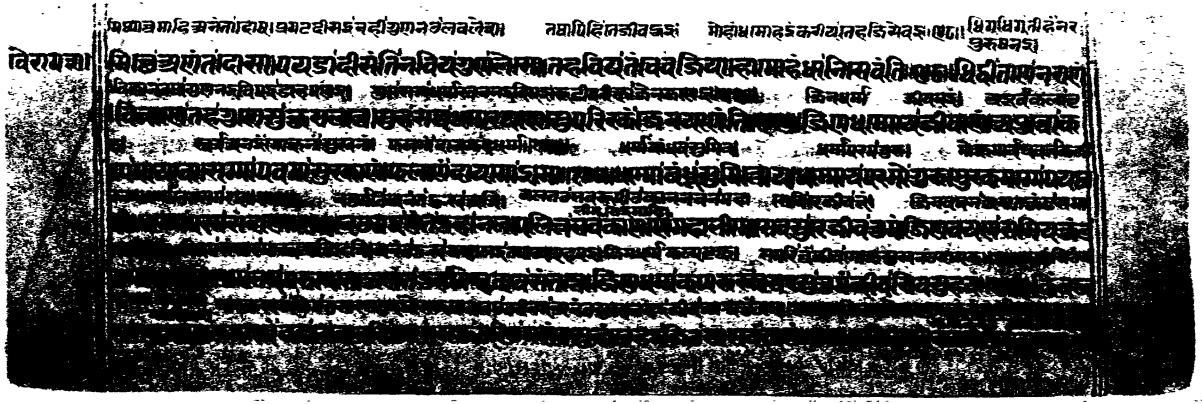


FOLIO 39

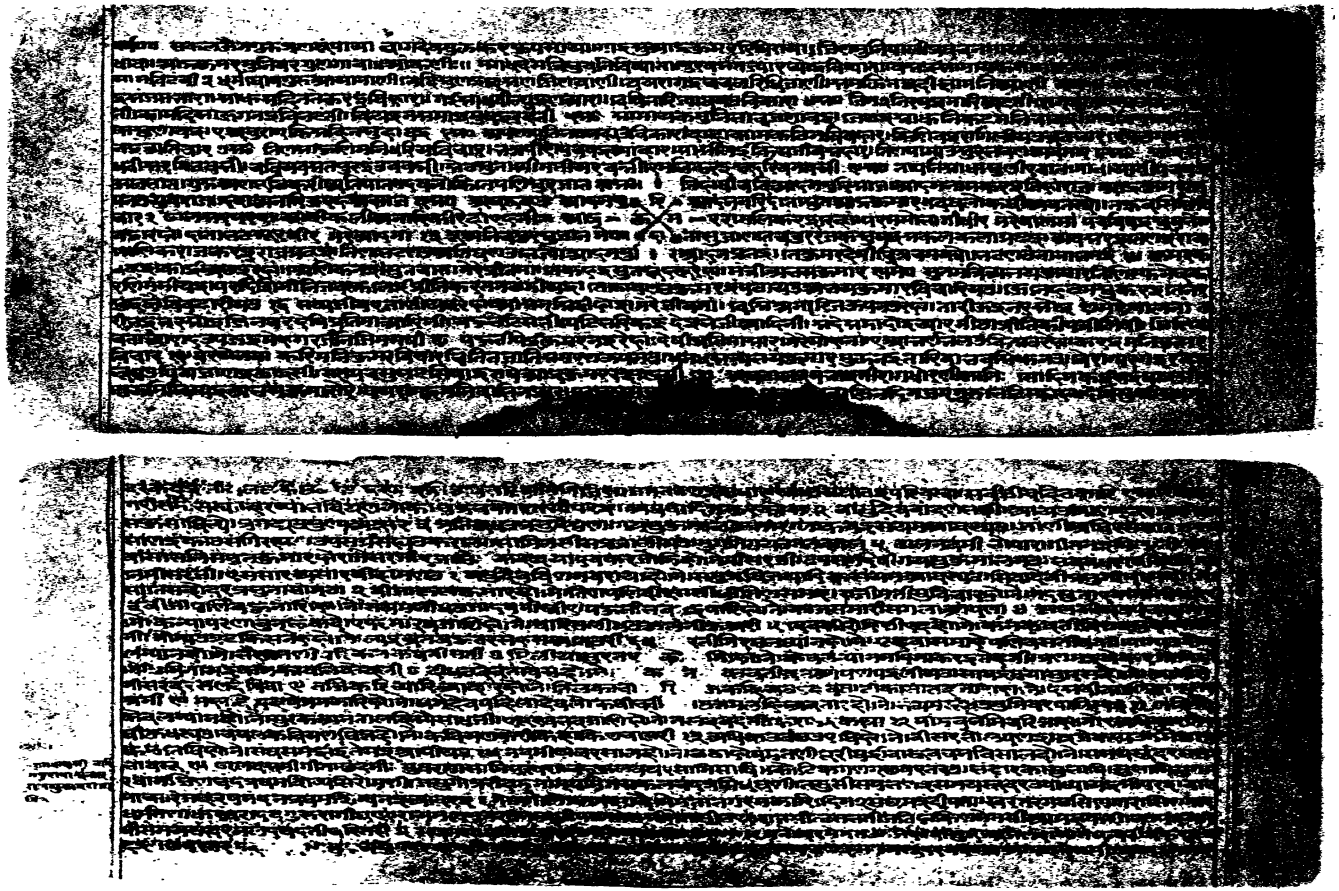
7. (21.1673)

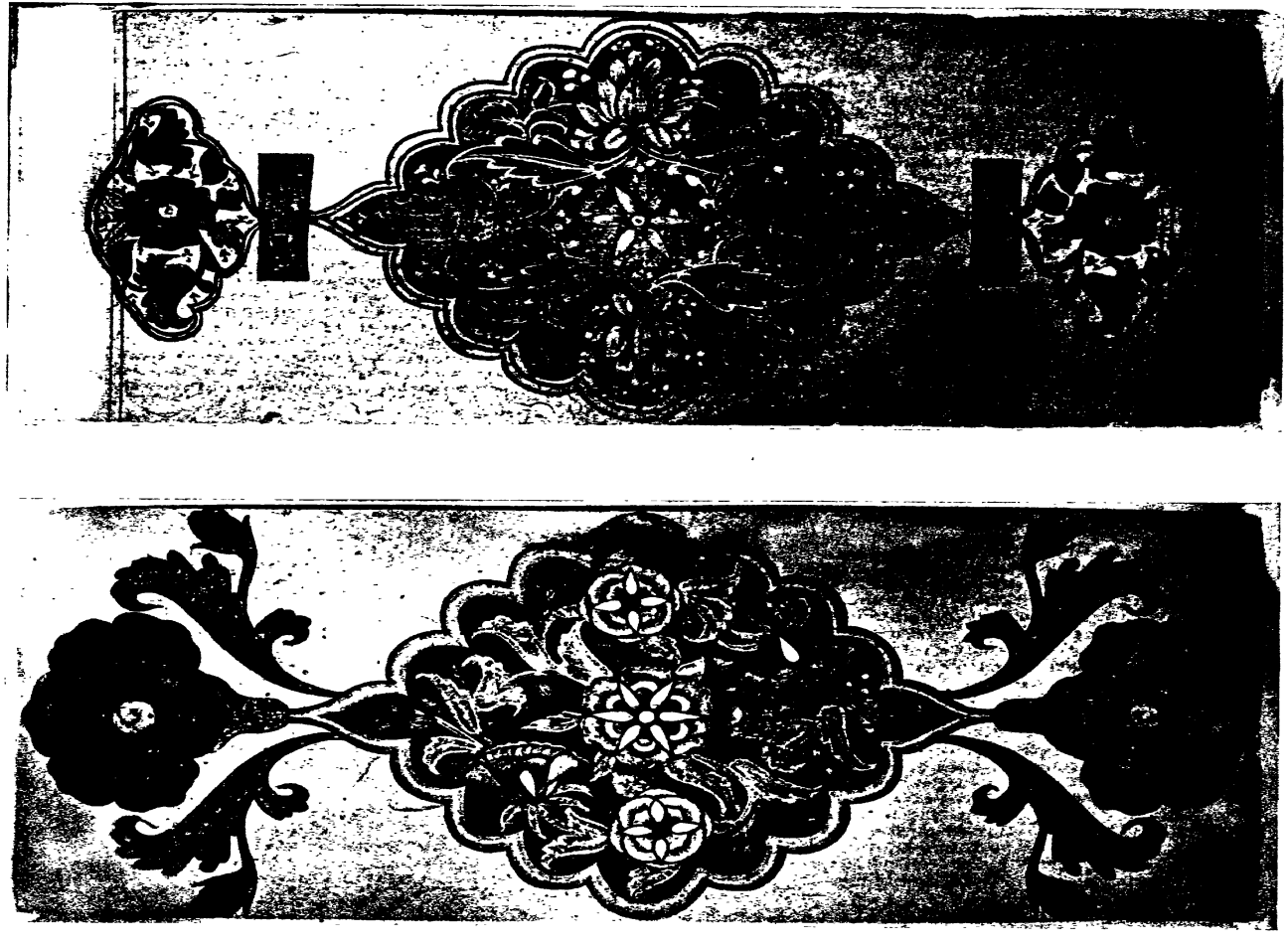


9. (17.2281)

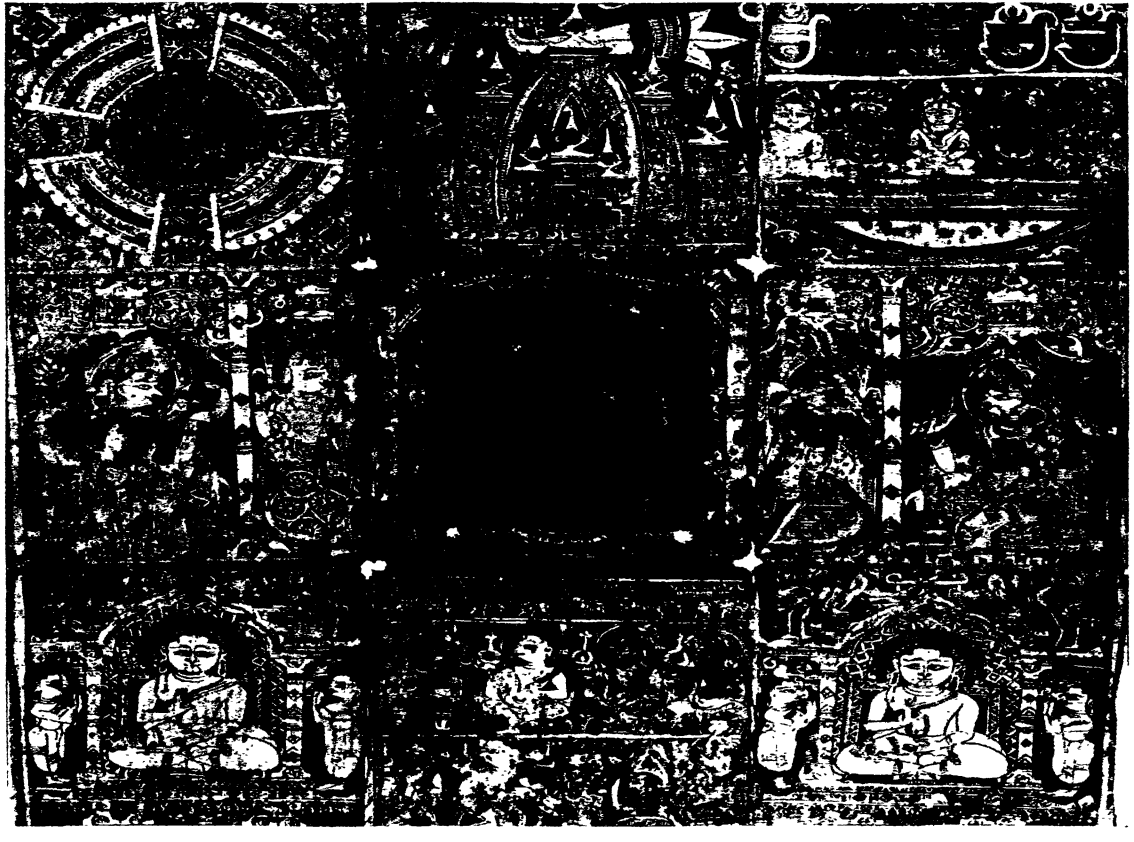


26. (17.2289) and 11. (17.2283)

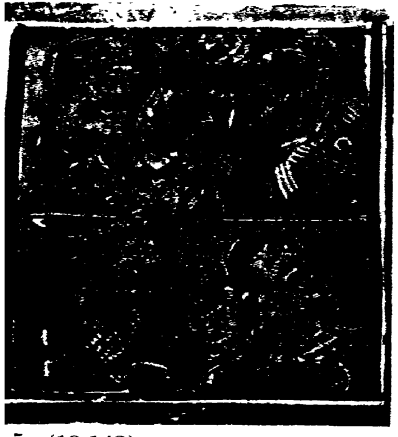




12. (17.2284)



15. (17.2295)



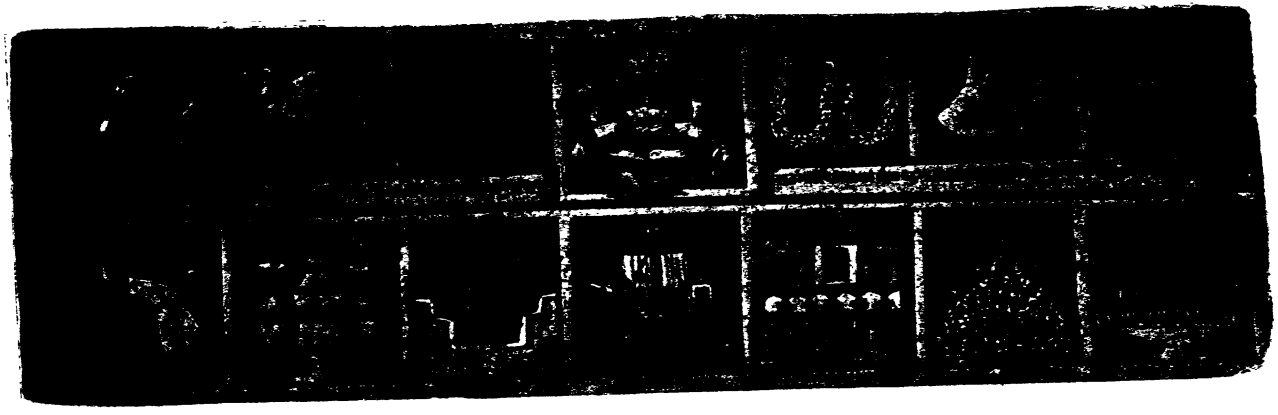
5. (19.142) FOLIO 51

5. (19.142) FOLIO 59

18. (17.2298)

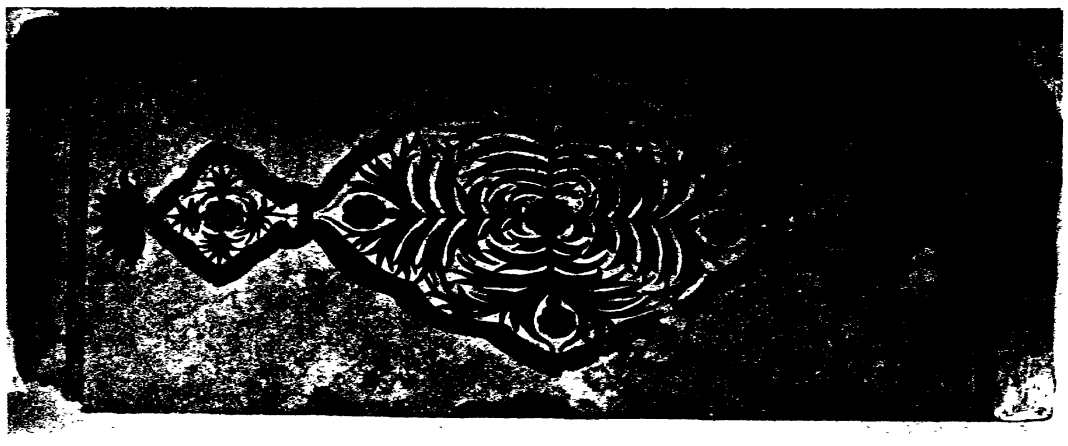
21. (17.2311)

27. (17.2290)



22. (17.2285)

23. (17.2286)



28. (17.2291)

32. (22.706)

12282